OHIO HISTORY

Volume 101/Summer-Autumn 1992

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Cover: John D. Rockefeller (left) and John D. Rockefeller, Jr. (right), on 5th Avenue, New York City, 1921. (COURTESY OF THE ROCKEFELLER ARCHIVE CENTER)

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DARWIN H. STAPLETON

Abraham Flexner, Rockefeller Philanthropy, and the Western Reserve School of Medicine

In September 1914 the president of Western Reserve University in Cleveland, Charles F. Thwing, addressed a friendly letter to an important ally of the university's medical school:

> I am glad to say to you that your Western Reserve Medical School is opening tomorrow in excellent form ... The students seem to be overflowing. We have a little larger first-year class than we ought to receive. We, Faculty and Trustees of both Lakeside [hospital] and the University, are now considering, with utmost care, the question of [future] location.[1]

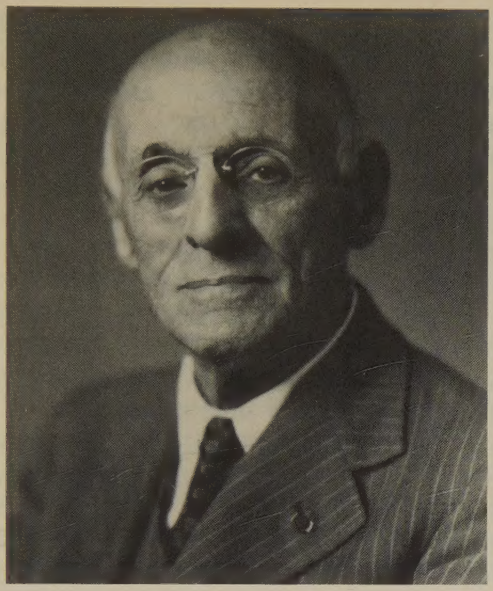
The correspondent to whom Thwing wrote so intimately was neither one of the great contributors to the university nor one of the important leaders of the medical school. Rather it was Abraham Flexner, an officer of the Rockefeller-funded General Education Board in New York.

Thwing was neither flippant nor overgenerous when he told Flexner that the Western Reserve University School of Medicine was "his," and thereby hangs the tale of this essay.[2] Beginning in 1910, a few years before Thwing's letter, and at a crucial point in the school's evolution, Flexner and Rockefeller funding had become important actors, and for at least two decades remained highly influential. It was precisely during those years, 1910 to about 1930, that the school was transformed from a regionally-

Darwin H. Stapleton is the Director of the Rockefeller Archive Center, North Tarrytown, New York. An earlier version of this paper was read as the 1990 Anton and Rose Sverina Lecture for the Historical Division of the Cleveland Medical Library Association, Cleveland, Ohio. Both versions have drawn on research in the Case Western Reserve University Archives by Bari O. Stith.

1. Charles F. Thwing to Abraham Flexner, 30 September 1914, f. 7283, box 709, General Education Board archives (hereafter GEB), Rockefeller Archive Center (hereafter RAC), North Tarrytown, New York.

2. The name of the Medical Department of Western Reserve University was changed to the School of Medicine in 1912. I shall use the latter name throughout this paper. Frederick C. Waite, *Western Reserve University Centennial History of the School of Medicine* (Cleveland, 1946), 422.



Abraham Flexner, an officer of the General Education Board from 1913 to 1928, c. 1930. (COURTESY OF THE ROCKEFELLER ARCHIVE CENTER)

known institution in downtown Cleveland into a nationally-important institution with a unified medical center in University Circle.[3]

Existing histories of the School of Medicine do not elaborate on the effect of Flexner and Rockefeller philanthropy, in part because the primary sources for exploring the relationship were not consulted. The Rockefeller Archive Center, which houses 50 million documents dealing with the Rockefeller family and its philanthropies, was not opened until 1975, and scholars are only beginning to tap it to explore the important role of the Cleveland-based Rockefeller fortune in a wide range of American institutions.[4]

Abraham Flexner is certainly one of the figures who plays dramatically across the stage of Rockefeller philanthropy. Born to a Jewish immi-

3. *Centennial History*, esp. chs. 15-17; Clarence L. Cramer, *Case Western Reserve: A History of the University, 1826-1976* (Boston, 1976), 295-304; and David D. Van Tassel and John J. Grabowski, eds., *Encyclopedia of Cleveland History* (Bloomington, IN.,1987), 157-59, 672-74, 837, 1000-02.

4. For example: John Ettling, *The Germ of Laziness: Rockefeller Philanthropy and Public Health in the New South* (Cambridge, MA., 1981); Gerald Jonas, *The Circuit Riders: Rockefeller Money and the Rise of Modern Science* (New York, 1989); Martin Bulmer, *The Chicago School of Sociology: Institutionalization, Diversity, and the Rise of Sociological*

grant family in Louisville, Kentucky, Flexner attended and graduated from Johns Hopkins University in the 1880s with a degree in the classics. He returned to Louisville for more than fifteen years of high school teaching and private tutoring, then went to Harvard to study psychology. Disappointed with his graduate program there, he went to Europe for a sabbatical and wrote a book critical of American higher education.[5]

On his return to the United States Flexner sought a position with the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, a new philanthropy established by Andrew Carnegie. Flexner may have been advised and aided in his approach to the foundation by his brother Simon Flexner, a leading American medical researcher who had a few years earlier become the first director of the Rockefeller Institute in New York, the first biomedical research center in the United States.

As it turned out, the President of the Carnegie foundation was interested in commissioning a survey of American medical education, and in Abraham Flexner he found the intelligent, critical, informed, but disinterested point of view that he wanted. After clearing the project with the American Medical Association, Flexner was sent out on a whirlwind tour of over 150 medical schools in the United States and Canada in 1909 and early 1910.

Flexner set his task as investigating and assessing the entrance requirements, faculties, and clinical and research facilities of each school. He believed that he could do so rapidly, and often needed less than a day to review admission records, interview faculty, and tour facilities at a single institution. Within a year he produced a monumentally influential work, *Medical Education in the United States and Canada,* that was highly critical of much of what passed for medical education in America.[6]

Flexner's findings are not complex to relate. He wanted to reduce the number of medical schools from about 150 to 30, because he thought that only one-fifth had rigorous admission standards, well-trained faculties, and excellent laboratories and clinical facilities. He also argued in favor of professors being full-time, that is without any commitment to private medical practice, so that their loyalties and time would be committed to

Research (Chicago, 1984).

5. For my view of Flexner and other general material on the Flexner report and the General Education Board I have relied heavily on Steven C. Wheatley's *The Politics of Philanthropy: Abraham Flexner and Medical Education* (Madison, Wis., 1988). See also Howard S. Berliner, *A System of Scientific Medicine: Philanthropic Foundations in the Flexner Era* (New York, 1985) and E. Richard Brown, *Rockefeller Medicine Men: Medicine & Capitalism in America* (Berkeley, Cal., 1979); s.v., "Flexner, Abraham," in *Who's Who in America, 1934-35* (Chicago, 1934).

6. Abraham Flexner, *Medical Education in the United States and Canada: A Report to the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.* Bulletin no. 4. (New York, 1910); Berliner, *A System of Scientific Medicine*, 108-10.

education and research. In general these criticisms and ideas had been around for some years, as Flexner acknowledged, but the time was ripe for a forceful and authoritative advocate of reform, and he filled that role extremely well.

The effect of the Flexner report was in some instances very dramatic. Robert Brookings, the benefactor of the medical school at Washington University in St. Louis, read a preliminary version of the report and immediately asked Flexner to visit the school with him to point out its deficiencies. Within two days Brookings pushed through the board of trustees reforms on the lines Flexner had suggested.

The Flexner report was extremely favorable to Western Reserve University's school of medicine. The school had ten years earlier adopted the stiffest level of entrance standards in the United States—three years of college preparation—and had for several years had its laboratory courses taught by full-time professors, with excellent facilities provided for them. Flexner had high regard for the school's affiliation with Lakeside Hospital, and throughout his report cited it as a model for clinical relationships. For more than a decade the university had nominated the staff of the hospital and had exclusive teaching privileges there.[7]

The general impact of the Flexner report on American medical education was slight at first because its recommendations were not adopted formally by state medical boards or by medical associations. However, it had enormous impact over the next decade and beyond, and the Flexner report became the bible of the Rockefeller philanthropies that massively supported American medical schools: it has been estimated that they provided 60 percent of the foundation aid to medical education from about 1910-1930. Their promotion of medical research and full-time faculties transformed medical education into its modern form in the United States.[8]

Flexner's influence became very strong when in 1912 he accepted a permanent position with the General Education Board, a philanthropic foundation created in 1902 by John D. Rockefeller to support the orderly growth of higher education and the reform of public school education in the American South. Rockefeller eventually gave the board $129 million for its endowment.[9] This organization should not be confused with the Rockefeller Foundation, established by John D. Rockefeller in 1913 as the largest general-purpose foundation created in the first half of the twenti-

7. Flexner, *Medical Education*, esp. 106, 285-86; Waite, *Centennial History*, 249. See also B.L. Millikin to S.T. Murphy [sic], 15 March 1905, f. 6637, box 631, GEB.

8. Wheatley, *Politics of Philanthropy*, 112.

9. *The General Education Board: An Account of its Activities, 1902-1914* (New York, 1930), 3-9; John Ensor Harr and Peter J. Johnson, *The Rockefeller Century* (New York, 1988), 70-81, 562.

eth century. During the period covered here, 1910-1930, it was the General Education Board, Flexner's organization, not the Rockefeller Foundation, that was the major actor in American medical education.

***

Now that the outside actors have been described, let us see how the history of the medical school was influenced by Abraham Flexner and Rockefeller philanthropy.

The Western Reserve University school of medicine was founded in Cleveland in 1843, and operated as a rather autonomous unit until 1893 when growth in the school's endowment permitted the creation of full-time professorships in the laboratory departments. Thereafter the university had increasing financial oversight of the school, and the school turned in the direction of scientific medicine. A physiological laboratory was erected in 1898, and the Cushing Laboratory of Experimental Medicine was opened in 1908 as a result of the gifts of Cleveland industrialists Howard M. Hanna and Oliver H. Payne. The laboratory scientists at the school quickly compiled an enviable record of publications in nationally-prominent journals, including the *Journal of Experimental Medicine,* which had been founded at Johns Hopkins in 1896 and transferred to the Rockefeller Institute in 1905.[10] The clinicians at the school were outstanding as well. George W. Crile, for example, was known for his highly successful surgical technique, and for his important and respected publications.

When Rockefeller philanthropy entered this situation it was largely in an attempt to preserve and expand the strong teaching environment that already had been created. John D. Rockefeller, who had grown up in Cleveland and had founded his fortune on his business activities there, was aware of the growth of higher education in Cleveland and had long been interested in Cleveland medicine. His benefactions ranged from contributions to the association that bought the land for the adjoining Western Reserve-Case campuses, to the construction of the Mather dormitory for the College for Women, the funding of the physics building for Case, and to the Cleveland Medical Library Association. Having a homeopathic orientation, in the 1880s and 1890s Rockefeller supported the Cleveland Homeopathic Medical College through his personal physician, Hamilton F. Biggar. (There is not space to discuss here the role of Rockefeller philanthropy

10. Millikin to Murphy, 15 March 1905, loc. cit.; George W. Corner, *A History of The Rockefeller Institute, 1901-1953: Origins and Growth* (New York, 1964), 62-63; H.M. Hanna to E.F. Cushing, 14 November 1906, extract, box 18, Charles F. Thwing Office Files (hereafter TOF), Case Western Reserve University Archives (hereafter CWRU Archives), Cleveland, Ohio.

Charles F. Thwing, President of Western Reserve University, c. 1910. (COURTESY OF THE HISTORICAL DIVISION OF THE CLEVELAND MEDICAL LIBRARY ASSOCIATION)

in practically every area of Cleveland's educational, cultural, and educational institutions.)[11]

As the twentieth century dawned, however, Rockefeller's son, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and his philanthropic advisor Frederick Gates persuaded Rockefeller that modern medical research and allopathic medicine held the greatest promise for alleviating or eradicating the endemic and epidemic diseases that were, according to reformers of the era, the causes of much social misery and vice. Rockefeller founded the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research in New York in 1901, the first American medical research institution devoted solely to research into human physiology and the fundamental causes of illness, and the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission for the Eradication of Hookworm Disease, established in 1909 to work in the American South.

Rockefeller's interest was first drawn to the Western Reserve University School of Medicine when Starr J. Murphy, his financial advisor and a trustee of the General Education Board, visited Cleveland in 1905 to examine Rockefeller philanthropic commitments. He wrote a 30-page report to Rockefeller describing Western Reserve University, and especially its medical school, concluding that "This is the best Medical School I have

11. The author's *A History of University Circle: Community, Philanthropy and Planning in Cleveland, 1800-1985* will be published by Ohio State University Press.

seen except Harvard and Johns Hopkins. The professors and instructors are in the main from those institutions and have brought with them the traditions and practices of those institutions."[12]

It was four years later, just before Abraham Flexner came to survey the school for his famous report, that President Thwing made an appeal to the General Education Board. He asked for $250,000 toward a proposed $1 million endowment for the school of medicine. Howard Hanna, a leading Cleveland industrialist, had given $250,000 a year before, but the endowment campaign had stalled. Thwing played on the known prejudices of the Rockefeller philanthropies by emphasizing the school's high admission standards and its commitment to laboratory science. He was able to point to the recent creation of the Cushing Laboratory as an example of what he called "this indispensable association" of "laboratory and clinical research" which have "continually ... become closer."[13]

The General Education Board asked Simon Flexner, director of the Rockefeller Institute and co-editor of the *Journal of Experimental Medicine,* to review Thwing's proposal, and he replied favorably without hesitation.

> I believe that the Medical Department of Western Reserve University is one of the most modern and progressive faculties in the country. The scientific chairs in the Institute have now for several years been on a university basis, and have been filled with men of distinction. The Laboratories have devoted for many years a considerable part of their energies to research and have been productive in a highly commendable degree ... In other words, I have a high opinion of the Medical Department of Western Reserve University and believe that it is moving in the right direction ....[14]

The General Education Board's secretary, Wallace Buttrick, presented Thwing's request to the board's trustees favorably, but they decided that they were already overcommitted to undergraduate colleges and were not prepared to support professional schools. Frederick Gates, however, recommended that the $250,000 be given by Rockefeller personally, and the request was passed along through Starr Murphy and John D. Rockefeller, Jr.[15] Rockefeller apparently replied favorably, but suggested that a con-

12. Starr J. Murphy to John D. Rockefeller, 27 April 1905, "Western Reserve University" file, box 121, Education series, RG 2, Rockefeller Family archives, RAC.

13. Charles F. Thwing to General Education Board, 14 October 1909, f. 6637, box 631, GEB; Waite, *Centennial History,* 382.

14. Simon Flexner to Starr J. Murphy, 21 March 1910, "Western Reserve University" file, box 121, Education series, RG 2.

15. Starr J. Murphy to Wallace Buttrick, 29 March 1910, f. 7283, box 709, GEB; Starr J. Murphy to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 18 April 1910, "Western Reserve University" file, box 121, Education series, RG 2.

dition of the gift be that the school be required to teach homeopathy. Starr Murphy replied firmly that "to prescribe that a given theory of medicine, or a given school of practice, must be taught would go counter to our best modern tendencies, and would involve grave danger that the fund might become wholly useless and even pernicious."[16]

A few months later Rockefeller decided to make the $250,000 contribution without any reference to homeopathy, and gave the university from October 1910 until the end of December 1911 to raise a matching $750,000.[17] During the next year Thwing worked assiduously to reach the required sum, and by the end of 1911 reached the $1 million goal with gifts of $100,000 each from Samuel Mather and Oliver Payne, and twenty-eight gifts of $50,000 or less from other Cleveland business and philanthropic leaders.[18]

The success of Rockefeller's gift to the school seems to have been an important stage in the association of Rockefeller philanthropy and medical schools. Never previously had John D. Rockefeller or his philanthropies given to the endowment of a medical school, but the gift to Western Reserve University—a challenge grant to an institution committed to scientific research and full-time professorships — became the model. As so often happened in Rockefeller philanthropy, John D. Rockefeller's private action (and later that of his son, John D. Rockefeller, Jr.) pioneered a policy that was carried out globally or nationally by one of his philanthropic organizations.

In this case, the General Education Board up to 1910 had been focused on the improvement of secondary school education in the South, higher education for blacks, and developing the endowment of a few leading colleges. But what happened with Western Reserve University, and the continuing flow of millions from Rockefeller, provided the impetus to broaden the board's agenda. When the board hired Flexner late in 1912 they knew he was bringing a strong vision of how to improve medical education through philanthropy.[19]

Flexner began to assert his new role in the spring of 1913 when he was appointed to a General Education Board committee that was "to make a

16. Starr J. Murphy to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 2 May 1910, "Western Reserve University" file, box 121, Education series, RG 2. Rockefeller had several years earlier shown his concern regarding homeopathic instruction in the controversy regarding the affiliation of Rush Medical College with the University of Chicago: Berliner, *A System of Scientific Medicine*, 39-41.

17. Starr J. Murphy to Charles F. Thwing, 4 October 1910, "Western Reserve University" file, box 121, Education series, RG 2.

18. Charles F. Thwing to Starr J. Murphy, 11 January 1912, "Western Reserve University" file, box 121, Education series, RG 2.

19. Raymond B. Fosdick, *Adventures in Giving: The Story of the General Education Board*

careful study of clinical instruction in medical schools."[20] Although apparently the committee planned to visit only Harvard and Johns Hopkins, the word of its mission seems to have leaked to Cleveland, for in September George Crile, a member of Reserve's faculty and, perhaps, Cleveland's most eminent physician, invited Flexner to "run out here to look over our medical college and Lakeside Hospital situation to give your advice about the size of classes."[21] Flexner came with Wallace Buttrick, president of the General Education Board, and addressed a planning meeting, probably the medical school's committee on the future location of the school and Lakeside Hospital. Afterward Thwing thanked him for establishing the "general principles" for their plans.[22]

Flexner's advice was sought, first, because Thwing and others had high hopes for further Rockefeller support of the School of Medicine and, second, because Flexner's insistence on the importance of consolidation of medical schools with clinical facilities corresponded well with the goals of Cleveland's medical and business leaders who wanted to associate more closely the school of medicine, Lakeside Hospital and possibly other Cleveland hospitals.

Plans for an organic association of these bodies had become serious two years before when Thwing and Samuel Mather, as president of the trustees of Lakeside Hospital, had agreed to plan the future of their institutions together.[23] To Cleveland philanthropists this seemed the only route to efficiency and excellence of service. As Howard Hanna put it: " A Medical School cannot reach, or maintain, a high standard, without a close affiliation with an up-to-date Hospital. Without that affiliation accomplished between the ... Medical school, and the Lakeside Hospital, my interest and support of the Medical School would cease."[24] With this kind of support the affiliation was a *fait accompli*: in 1913 the University Medical Group was formed consisting of the School of Medicine, Lakeside, and the Babies and Childrens' Hospital.[25] But plans for a new downtown complex of buildings for these institutions foundered. Early in 1914 Samuel Mather raised serious questions about its location.[26] As he explained it a year later in his report to the Lakeside trustees:

(New York, 1962), 150-60; 25 October 1912, trustees' minutes, GEB.

20. 23 May 1913, trustees' minutes, GEB.

21. George W. Crile to Abraham Flexner, [September 1913], f. 7283, box 709, GEB.

22. "Report of the Faculty Committee on the location of the Medical School and Hospitals," 22 September 1913, box 18 TOF; Charles F. Thwing to Abraham Flexner, 16 December 1913, box 18 TOF; Abraham Flexner to Edwin P. Carter, 9 June 1914, f. 7283, box 709, GEB.

23. Howard M. Hanna to Charles F. Thwing, 5 December 1911, box 18, TOF.

24. Howard M. Hanna to Charles F. Thwing, 12 December 1911, box 18, TOF.

25. Van Tassel and Grabowski, eds., *Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*, 1001.

26. 30 January 1914, minutes, joint committee on hospital and medical school buildings, box 18, TOF.

A year ago we were confidently planning the establishment of a large Hospital-Medical group in our present [downtown] location ... The unexpected discovery, however, that in connection with the proposed new Union Depot, the railroads were planning to very largely multiply their railroad tracks in front of the Hospital, and also to elevate them sixteen feet above their present level, aroused in the minds of all ... an apprehension [regarding] ... the resulting increase in noise and smoke from the increased number of tracks and trains passing between our building and the lake ....[27]

A substantial debate over the new location ensued that had an unexpected relationship to the full-time issue for the clinicians. Some professors and trustees argued that only a downtown site would be accessible for a substantial number of patients and convenient to professors with private practices: some of the clinical professors feared that a site on the periphery of the city would make it impossible to serve their clientele and would certainly reduce their incomes. They were probably right. A few years later Harvey Cushing, a leading Boston surgeon who had become a full-time professor at Harvard, stated that "Happy full-time people are either bachelors or people of independent means . . .I suppose my take-in is about one-fifth of what what it would be if I wanted to go out for the full emoluments which my special training would bring."[28]

Throughout the deliberations on the site and "full-time," Thwing, Mather, and Crile kept Flexner informed. When the process seemed stalemated in the spring of 1914 they invited him to Cleveland to address the concerned parties, and particularly to deal with the concerns of the medical school faculty. Flexner came armed with a thorough knowledge of the debate through documents sent to him.[29] His talk emphasized the importance of full-time instruction and urged Western Reserve to follow the reforms recently initiated at Johns Hopkins, Yale, and Washington University with the aid of General Education Board grants. Although his talk was eloquent about the great possibilities for reform in medical education, Flexner was also frank. He said: "Certain practical questions arise in connection with the full-time scheme. You may be interested in the details of their tentative solution. The full-time clinician will practically live in the hospital laboratories and the wards."[30]

Afterward Professor David Marine, a pathologist at the school of medicine and a graduate of Johns Hopkins, told Flexner that he had done

27. Samuel Mather, "Report of the President of Lakeside Hospital to the Annual Meeting of the Corporation, 1915," University Hospitals archives, Cleveland, Ohio.

28. Harvey Cushing to Richard M. Pearce, 1 May 1920, f. 11, box 2, series 906, RG 3, Rockefeller Foundation archives, RAC.

29. David Marine to Abraham Flexner, 13 June 1914, f. 7283, box 709, GEB; George W. Crile to Abraham Flexner, 13 June 1914, ibid.

30. Abraham Flexner, [after-dinner address], [c. 18 June 1914], f. 7283, box 709, GEB.

"a great service" to "the cause of higher medical education in Cleveland." Specifically, Marine said, "as a result of your presence here, men who a few months ago were anxiously looking about for avenues of escape are now enthusiastic, encouraged, and glad to be in a position to render services towards obtaining a better Medical School."[31] But the situation was not so easily resolved, because the medical school faculty and the Lakeside trustees could not agree on a new site for the combined institutions. In October 1914 Samuel Mather wrote urgently to Flexner asking him to return again to "give us the aid of your experienced judgment."[32] Flexner instead invited Mather to visit him in New York, and over the next few months he also had visits from Crile and Thwing.[33]

The full-time issue for clinical professorships was resolved diplomatically, as Thwing informed Flexner, by creating full-time positions for new appointments for junior faculty beginning in 1916, but retaining part-time teaching positions for current faculty. This avoided the problems experienced at Johns Hopkins and other institutions where venerable clinicians were forced to make a painful choice between private practice and full-time teaching.[34]

Along with this compromise came agreement to build the new medical center on a site adjacent to the Western Reserve University campus. Flexner now became a consultant on the architectural plans for the complex. He returned to Cleveland once more in June 1916 to go over the design with Howard Hanna, and again gave a luncheon address on the development of the full-time plan.[35] Flexner avoided making any commitment to financial support of the venture, but assured Mather that the General Education Board regarded the school "as one of the most hopeful spots in the country from the standpoint of medical education."[36]

Interestingly enough, Charles A. Coolidge of Boston, the architect who had drawn the plans for the Medical School and for Lakeside Hospital that Flexner was called on to review, had earlier designed the buildings of the Rockefeller Institute in New York, and had just been commissioned to design the Rockefeller-financed Peking Union Medical College in China.

31. David Marine to Abraham Flexner, 19 June 1914, f. 7283, box 709, GEB.
32. Samuel Mather to Abraham Flexner, 7 October 1914, f. 7283, box 709, GEB.
33. Abraham Flexner to Samuel Mather, 17 October 1914; George W. Crile to Abraham Flexner, 31 December 1914; and Charles F. Thwing to Abraham Flexner, 25 May 1915, all in f. 7283, box 709, GEB.
34. Charles F. Thwing to Abraham Flexner, 25 May 1916, f. 7283, box 709, GEB; Waite, *Centennial History,* 402; Wheatley, *Politics of Philanthropy,* 67-68, 97-98; Berliner, *System of Scientific Medicine,* 150-61.
35. Charles F. Thwing to Abraham Flexner, 24 June 1916 and 12 October 1916, f. 7283, box 709, GEB; Samuel Mather to Abraham Flexner, 14 July 1916, f. 7283, box 709, GEB.
36. Abraham Flexner to Samuel Mather, 17 July 1916, f. 7283, box 709, GEB.

Coolidge was known to Clevelanders for his design of the largest office building in the city, the New England Building, and already had a reputation as an architect of academic buildings, but his close connection with Rockefeller interests could have influenced the decision to employ him.[37]

This is not the place to follow in detail the progress, or lack thereof, of the medical center idea over the years from 1916 to 1922. But quite simply, although the trustees of the University and the hospitals elaborated and refined the plans for the complex, the price tag of some ten to fifteen million dollars daunted them, especially during the war years and postwar recession. Samuel Mather made an initial gift of $300,000 to the project in 1917, and Thwing hoped, with Flexner's support, to get a large sum from the Rockefeller or the Carnegie philanthropies to make the total achievable.[38] But neither made a contribution to the endowment, despite the pleas of Thwing and, after his retirement in 1921, the new university president Robert E. Vinson.

Instead it was Samuel Mather's decision to make a personal commitment to the construction of the medical school building in 1922 that put the wheels in motion. The Medical School building opened in 1924 at a cost of $2.5 million, and the Babies and Childrens and Maternity Hospitals were completed a year later. Lakeside Hospital opened in 1931. These achievements were entirely the result of contributions from Clevelanders.[39]

Vinson was finally able to obtain General Education Board participation in the medical center by convincing Flexner to support the university's request for $750,000 for the construction of the Institute of Pathology building, which opened in 1928. Almost as important, in 1927 the board began to give the medical school a grant for operating expenses, beginning with three annual appropriations of $75,000. Vinson had told the board in 1925 that the medical school had expenditures of about $300,000 but an income of only $175,000. The endowment of the medical school had grown only slightly since the $1 million campaign of 1910-11 to which John D. Rockefeller had personally contributed.[40]

In all, however, by 1929 the medical school and the associated medical institutions had come a remarkable distance since Thwing had asked

37. Corner, *Rockefeller Institute,* 55; Mary E. Ferguson, *China Medical Board and Peking Union Medical College* (New York, 1970), 30-32; Henry F. Withey, *Biographical Dictionary of American Architects (Deceased)* (Los Angeles, 1970), 136-37 .

38. Charles F. Thwing to Jeptha H. Wade II, 1 February 1917; Charles F. Thwing to Samuel Mather, 23 July 1918; Samuel Mather to Charles F. Thwing, 31 July 1919, all in box 18, TOF.

39. Waite, *Centennial History,* 421-22, 426.

40. 3 December 1925 and 4 February 1926, Richard M. Pearce diary, RG 12, Rockefeller Foundation archives, RAC; Robert E. Vinson to Abraham Flexner, 2 December 1925; Robert E. Vinson to Abraham Flexner, 4 October 1926; W.W. Brierley to Robert E. Vinson, 22

One of the new laboratories of the School of Medicine, Western Reserve University, c. 1924. (COURTESY OF THE HISTORICAL DIVISION OF THE CLEVELAND MEDICAL LIBRARY ASSOCIATION)

for General Education Board support in 1909. On a visit to Cleveland early in October 1929, Dr. R.A. Lambert, an officer of the General Education Board, examined the medical school in order to consider whether to recommend it for a continuation of its annual operating grants. On virtually every score he found it a model of the kind of medical education the board wanted to promote. Extracts from his assessment are a neat and glowing summary of the accomplishments at the medical school over the previous twenty years:

> The laboratories of the Medical School are not merely ample; they are splendidly organized and equipped ... The new Institute of Pathology indeed surpasses in completeness any other in the United States ... The Medical Faculty is unusually strong. With a few exceptions the heads of departments are leaders in their respective fields ... [the school] is setting the pace in academic salaries ...
>
> The community support of the Medical School and University as judged by gifts in the past five years, has hardly a parallel in the United States ... The new Med-

November 1926; Robert E. Vinson to W.W. Brierley, 24 November 1926; Robert E. Vincent to Abraham Flexner, 1 April 1927, all in f. 7284, box 709, GEB.

ical Center is made up of a group of well-planned, well-organized, well-equipped institutions located in the center of the University campus."[41]

This assessment must have mightily pleased the General Education Board and especially Abraham Flexner, who had just retired.

***

Flexner's role in the development of the school of medicine suggests the importance of ideas in history. Even though the school had established its own commitment to the scientific direction of modern medicine, its leaders found it very important to call on Flexner to articulate the call to full-time professorships and to the importance of an integrated medical complex in a university setting. What Flexner brought to Western Reserve was a connection with the broader currents of medical education in the United States, and nurturance of the faith that Clevelanders had progressive-minded colleagues who shared their goals. These ideas, which Flexner presented authoritatively, were critical to moving the discussions and the decision-making process forward.

In a similar way, Rockefeller's personal act of philanthropy in 1910 demonstrates the power of money when used as a lever. We do not know the extent to which Rockefeller was apprised of the school of medicine's inability to develop support for its million-dollar endowment campaign, but his "challenge grant" (as we would call it today) was an effective catalyst and put the whole process of creating the University Hospitals Group onto a new footing. It is clear that philanthropy, often regarded as either simple charity or as self-aggrandizement, can also be a tool for institutional change and development. In the case of the relocation and expansion of Western Reserve University's school of Medicine, Rockefeller philanthropy had a vital role in the conception and planning of a model medical complex.

41. R.A. Lambert, "Western Reserve Medical School," 24 October 1929, f. 7284, box 709, GEB.

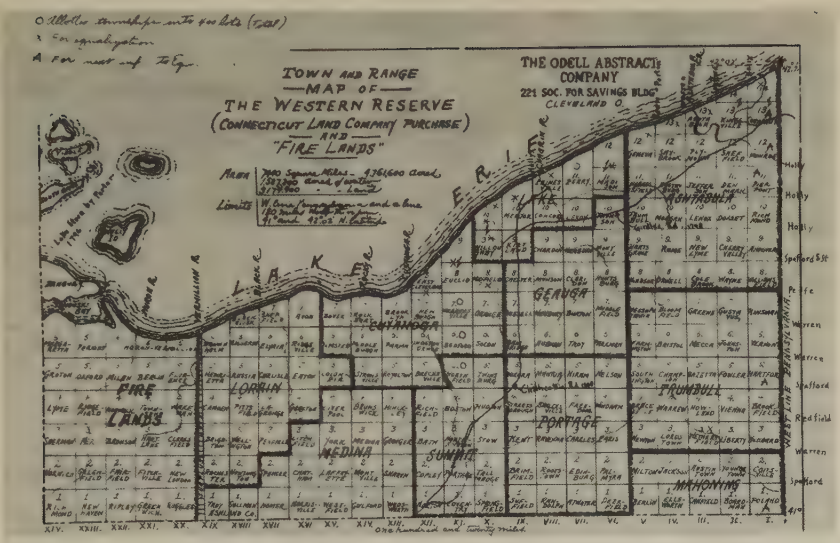
BRIAN HARTE

Land in the Old Northwest: A Study of Speculation, Sales, and Settlement on the Connecticut Western Reserve

Settlers who came to the American West from the Northeast carried with them a vision of what their new lives would involve. The act of moving to the West required a leap of faith, a presumption that they could convert their vision into reality. Despite their uncertainties, these pioneers were aware of and depended on certain existing parameters that would stabilize their lives in the new land. For instance, the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 assured settlers that their new homes would be safely within the confines of the United States and its political order. Also, they carried their New England culture with them, and that culture included a set of assumptions about their place in society and the location of their markets. The land speculator also had a vision, and the act of investment required no less a leap of faith on his part. The speculator assumed that the territory in which he was investing would develop into a viable and integral part of the country, rise in value, and return a profit to him. As one of the first large-scale targets for both settlers and investors, Ohio became the testing grounds for both settlers' and speculators' confidence in the future of Western settlement and development.

Thus, the settlement of Ohio played a pivotal role in the shaping of Western attitudes and East-West relationships. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the state and national governments of the United States began to distribute their western lands to settlers and speculators; much of this land was located in the Northwest Territory and, specifically, the Ohio country. The United States Government and the various private groups of speculators viewed the land market in the Northwest Territory as an opportunity to turn a fast profit. Although some people actually made a significant sum of money, lands sales were not the surest path to riches for many investors. A large plot in northeastern Ohio known as the Connecticut Western Reserve had inherent disadvantages that turned its ini-

Brian Harte graduated from Yale University in 1991, where he completed this thesis for the History Department under the guidance of his friend and mentor, Jay Gitlin.



A town and range map of the Western Reserve showing the Connecticut Land Company purchase. (MAP VFM 2046-4, OHIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS)

tial promise into a financial debacle for many of the members of the Connecticut Land Company. Because of the area's isolation and the slow pace of settlement, conditions for settlers on the Reserve were extremely spartan, even when compared to the generally difficult life of other early nineteenth-century frontier settlers. Despite the incentives offered by the Connecticut Land Company, rapid and comprehensive settlement and development of northeastern Ohio did not occur until the second quarter of the nineteenth century, when the completion of the Erie and Ohio-Erie Canals provided the area with a practical commercial link to the rest of the country.[1]

The Western Reserve was a small part of the area that came to be called the Northwest Territory, which in turn was part of a larger inheritance that the United States came into by the terms of the Treaty of Paris and from the cessions of various states (including Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia) in the late 1780s. Numerous Indian groups inhabited parts of this land and presented a significant obstacle to American settlement of this inheritance. Although the British

1. The Erie Canal was opened in 1825, and in 1827, two more events paved the way for rapid economic development of the Western Reserve: the opening of the Ohio-Erie Canal, and the clearing of the mouth of the Cuyahoga. See chapters 10 and 11 of Harlan Hatcher, *The Western Reserve,* (New York, 1949).

had prohibited colonists from settling west of the Appalachian Mountains by the Proclamation Line of 1763, squatters had been trickling into the Ohio River valley since the middle of the eighteenth century. Most of them settled south of the river: James Harrod founded Kentucky's first permanent settlement in 1774, and largely through the efforts of the Transylvania Land Company, one hundred and fifty men lived in Kentucky by 1775.[2]

A few squatters, mostly trappers and adventurous pioneers, had ventured into the forested land north of the Ohio, but such settlement was very sparse, in part because of the Indian threat. The ever-present danger of such formidable tribes as the Miami, Delaware, and Shawnee ensured that a settler's life in the Ohio wilderness would be lonely and insecure. However, in the 1780s, the number of settlers daring to establish themselves in Ohio increased gradually, and the young Confederation government took action to regulate the settlement of its new lands. By the terms of the 1785 Treaty of Fort McIntosh, the government was required to remove American settlers from Indian lands, but even small military excursions were ineffective in stopping the slow flow of settlers to Ohio.[3]

The new American government needed to keep a strict watch on the settlement pattern of the West for a number of reasons. First, the Confederation (and the later federal government) was submerged in postwar debt. The public domain was one of its few assets, and sales to settlers could therefore be used to help finance the government. Second, a compact and well-ordered settlement pattern was essential for the protection of the American settlers from Indian attacks. Third, the development of republican government in the new areas — and hence the protection of the fragile republic of the East —depended on a closely supervised plan of settlement, growth, and government. The plans of the government and of private companies reflected the desire to establish towns and governmental structures that would ease the integration of these new settled areas into the young republic.

With these goals in mind, the Congress of the Confederation debated over and finally passed the Land Ordinance of 1785. The general plan called for surveyors to divide the land into vertical ranges and square townships, each six miles square. The townships were further divided into smaller tracts. The land was to be sold in large townships and smaller lots, theoretically to accommodate both wealthy and less wealthy purchasers.

2. Kentucky grew rapidly: by 1782 there were already 8,000 inhabitants, and it became the 14th state in 1792. Source: Malcolm J. Rohrbaugh, *The Trans-Appalachian Frontier* (New York, 1978), 24-25.

3. For the most part, early Ohio settlers ignored the threats of the Confederation's militia units, and when the troops destroyed their dwellings, the settlers simply rebuilt their homes as soon as the units departed. See Rohrbaugh, 64-65.

However, the terms of sale under the Land Ordinance were too strict and too expensive for the "common buyer" — Congress demanded at least a dollar per acre plus the cost of the survey, payable immediately at the time of sale. No terms of credit were offered at first, and the land was sold only at a public auction in New York City, further restricting sales. Not surprisingly, the government sold less than 73,000 acres of land in 1787.[4]

Because initial sales in small tracts were so slow, Congress promptly violated its policy of trying to cater to small buyers by selling giant chunks of land to wealthy groups of speculators. Shortly after passing the Northwest Ordinance in 1787, Congress sold the Ohio Company one million acres for less than ten cents per acre, and further authorized the Treasury to negotiate for the sale of huge — over a million acres — tracts to other interested parties, such as the Scioto Company and the John Cleves Symmes group, at equally low prices.[5] Although the government raised large sums quickly by these actions, public land sales may have been hurt in the long run by the competition that these private speculators would soon provide for the government's own land agents.

As settlement proceeded, the Indian problem became more and more significant. A series of undeclared wars began with the establishment of the first settlements in the territory. The Indians, armed and assisted by the British in Detroit and Canada, effectively utilized raiding tactics to disrupt settlements in the Ohio country. The federal government became increasingly worried about these Indians, in part because its inability to establish order within its own boundaries caused international embarrassment at a time when the new country was seeking recognition from Europe. The Indians routed two American military expeditions, the first led by General Josiah Harmar in 1790, and the second led by Arthur St. Clair in the following year. Finally, on August 20, 1794, General Anthony Wayne led carefully trained militia units to Fallen Timbers, where he defeated a confederacy of Indian tribesmen. The subsequent Treaty of Greenville mandated that the Indians vacate most of the land in present-day Ohio, leaving most of the area open to white settlement.[6] The ensuing movement of people into the Territory forced Congress to reconsider its sales and credit policies to accommodate the new settlers.

Congress then formulated the Land Law of 1796, which offered more latitude to the small purchaser and settler. Although the price of land rose

4. Rohrbaugh, *The Land Office Business* (New York, 1968), 10-11.

5. Because of this policy, the Land Ordinance of 1785 was essentially disregarded: "the first arrangements for the disposal of the public domain stood discredited and unused. The rectangular system of surveys was a disappointment because of its slowness and expense." Rohrbaugh, *The Land Office Business,* 11.

6. See Thomas D. Clark, "Fallen Timbers, Battle of," and "Greenville, Treaty of," in *The Reader's Encyclopedia of the American West,* ed. Howard R. Lamar (New York, 1977).

to a minimum of two dollars per acre, buyers were given a year to pay the full price; cash purchasers received a discount. The law also permitted land sales to occur in towns in the territory, such as Cincinnati. However, the minimum purchase size was 640 acres, still too large and expensive a purchase for a small-time buyer. Thus, although Congress had high expectations for the new land law, sales were very slow — only 49,000 acres were sold in 1796[7] — because the government was not offering terms of sale that were competitive with the offers that the private companies made. Ironically, in order to raise money, the government had earlier sold large plots at fantastically low prices to these same companies which were now undercutting the federal land agents. For example, the John C. Symmes group could offer a smaller minimum purchase at one dollar per acre with better credit terms than the Land Law of 1796 permitted.[8] For the most part, then, settlement was limited to the lands owned by the speculative companies; westward immigrants generally avoided the public lands. After only three years under the new law, Congress began once again to plan a new land sales strategy, this time with the help and guidance of a representative from Ohio.

Under the terms of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, when the population of a territory passed five thousand free white males of voting age, its general assembly was permitted to elect a delegate to Congress. The Northwest Territory's first legislature convened in 1799 and chose William Henry Harrison as its representative in Washington. Advised by Harrison, Congress passed a new land law in 1800 that was more advantageous to small buyers than the previous legislation. Most significantly, the law expanded the credit terms on land purchases to allow up to four years of annual installment payments. It also reduced the minimum purchase size to 320 acres.[9]

The law of 1800 also created four land districts in Ohio to better facilitate the sales of land from outposts in the Northwest Territory; the districts were centered in Cincinnati, Chillicothe, Marietta, and Steubenville. Although people continued to complain that the terms of sale were still too difficult for many potential buyers to meet, income from sales of public land increased significantly, reaching 10 percent of the total national income in 1814.[10] As settlers filled up the Ohio country, Congress opened

7. Rohrbaugh, *The Land Office Business*, 18.

8. Ibid., 18-19.

9. The Land Law of 1800 was the last major piece of land policy legislation until 1820, when Congress further reduced the minimum price and the minimum tract size. For details on the Land Law of 1800, see Rohrbaugh, *The Land Office Business*, 19-22.

10. In his article "Land Policy, 1780-1896," from the *Reader's Encyclopedia of the American West*, P. W. Gates reports that land sales as a percentage of national income rose to this level from only 4 percent in 1805, and rose further to 13 percent by 1819.

up new territories in Illinois and Indiana, and Jefferson's Secretary of the Treasury, Albert Gallatin, established six new land office districts in the Northwest Territory (two were located in Ohio), and another in St. Louis. Although United States land policy would continue to evolve during the course of the nineteenth century, the law of 1800 was a landmark piece of legislation that attempted to address directly the problems that both buyers and sellers had encountered in trying to settle the American West.

Although most of the Northwest Territory fell under the Federal government's jurisdiction, some parts were never public domain lands. For instance, Virginia and Connecticut maintained claims to large tracts of land in the Ohio country. Virginia used its reserved lands between the Little Miami and Scioto Rivers to compensate Revolutionary War veterans, and, for the most part, this area was not the site of large-scale speculative ventures. Referring to its original colonial charter of 1662, Connecticut claimed a strip of land that extended from Pennsylvania to the Mississippi River. Although the state ceded most of its western claims to the Confederation in 1786, Connecticut maintained its claim to a piece of land that fronted Lake Erie, extending 120 miles to the west of the Pennsylvania border, as a means of raising revenue for the new state government. Against the larger backdrop of United States public land policies, the scenario of speculation and settlement that occurred on the private lands of the Connecticut Western Reserve provides a striking example of mismanagement and unmet expectations.

In 1795, after several years of bickering, the General Assembly of Connecticut created a committee of eight legislators to organize the sale of the Western Reserve to any interested persons or groups for at least one million dollars. The money from the sale was designated to initiate the Connecticut School Fund, a still-extant endowment for the support of public schools in the state. In response to the offer, a group of wealthy New England men formed an association in September of 1795, organizing themselves as the Connecticut Land Company. After a month of negotiations, the Connecticut Land Company purchased the state's holdings in northeastern Ohio for $1,200,000, with most of the money to be paid out on a five-year credit plan.[11]

11. A history of the Connecticut Land Company can be found in the 1915-1916 Annual Report of the Western Reserve Historical Society (Cleveland, 1916), also referred to as Tract No. 96 of their collection. "The Connecticut Land Company and Accompanying Papers," edited by Claude L. Shepard, contains a detailed history of the company as well as a number of documents that pertain to its history and to the history of the Western Reserve— charters, committee reports, and much more. For details on the purchase of the Western Reserve, see the "Report of the Connecticut Committee on the Sale of the Western Reserve, September, 1795," pages 125-44.

The fifty-eight members of the Company associated themselves into thirty-five shareholding "purchasers," with a purchaser sometimes consisting of two or three men. The largest investor, Oliver Phelps, invested over $200,000 in the company.[12] Most of the men were from Connecticut and, like Rufus Putnam of the Ohio Company and John C. Symmes, they were interested in making a fast profit by entering the Ohio land market when it was in its infancy.

The board of directors of the company formulated plans for extinguishing Indian claims, surveying the land, and selling it. Their first order of business was to survey and partition the Company's holdings. Although many legislators and Company members had assumed that the Western Reserve tract consisted of over three million acres, the Reserve was really an unmeasured quantity. In fact, the Company members received an unpleasant shock when the first surveying parties, led by Moses Cleaveland and Augustus Porter in 1796, discovered that their property actually contained just under three million acres. Unfortunately, in their overconfidence, the Company had already sold the rights to any Reserve lands in excess of three million acres to the Excess Company, which had then sold the title to William Hull. Hull did not lose all of his money immediately, though — he was taken into the Company and allowed to share in the profits from land sales.[13]

The Company's teams surveyed the Western Reserve along the lines of the method mandated by the Land Ordinance of 1785. That is, the tract was divided into vertical ranges that were numbered from east to west, and the townships, each a unit of land five miles square, were numbered within each range from south to north. The land was divided among the members of the Company in an elaborate lottery designed to compensate the choosers of "bad lots" with an appropriate number of "good lots." The Company's Articles of Association also included clauses that would allow the directors to set aside parcels of land containing salt springs, the sales of which would directly profit the Company. The Company took advantage of this provision in 1798, reserving a two-thousand acre tract of land containing a salt spring and attempting to lease it to future settlers.[14] This venture proved unprofitable, possibly because none of the settlers had the means to pay for salt in 1798; in fact, there were hardly any settlers at all in 1798.

12. WRHS Tract No. 96 also contains documentation of the original membership of the Connecticut Land Company, along with each person's investment and holdings (pages 131-34).

13. The error was due to inaccurate maps which misplaced the Lake Erie shore. Much of the land that the surveyors expected to find was actually located in Lake Erie. The story of the discovery of the error and the fatl of the Excess Company is related in Hatcher, 39-43.

14. WRHS Tract No. 96, 83.

Unfortunately, the members of the Connecticut Land Company miscalculated the value of their purchase and the desirability of the land to eastern settlers. The members hoped to make their profits exclusively from the sale of land to settlers, believing that the Reserve was primed for the rapid settlement that was beginning to occur in the Ohio Valley. They were mistaken. Sales would be painfully slow, a condition that was exacerbated by the general ignorance among the investors about what the Western Reserve consisted of and how to best manage it.

The primary reason that sales of Reserve lands would prove initially disappointing was that the area was essentially detached from the markets and resources of the Ohio Valley and the East. The lands in the middle and the south of the state were fertile and well watered. Natural resources, including coal and timber, were abundant in the southeastern part of the territory, where the Appalachian foothills cross through the Ohio Valley. Most importantly, a system of rivers, including the Miami, the Scioto, and the Muskingum, connected much of the state to the Ohio River. The Ohio was the economic link between the settlers in the Territory and the cities of Pittsburgh, New Orleans, the Eastern ports, and the rest of the world. Settlers in the Ohio Valley utilized these rivers to sell the products of their labor — mostly corn, wheat, and livestock — to buyers in the South and East. The result was the development of an "economic axis" extending from Pittsburgh to New Orleans along the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, through which settlers could also obtain materials and supplies not available in the Northwest.[15]

In contrast, the Western Reserve land, while also good farming land, was isolated from the American market system. To the east, the Appalachian mountains inhibited the establishment of efficient overland trading routes with Eastern cities. The Reserve was also sufficiently far north to prevent efficient and economical overland transportation of goods from and to the Ohio River network. The Reserve's extensive river system flowed into Lake Erie, but to the north the Niagara Falls and often-frozen St. Lawrence River prohibited traders from reliably travelling along this system back to the East; furthermore, this route cut through British Canada, and the Montreal traders were not likely to give preferential or fair treatment to American farmers.

Realizing the need to compete effectively in the Western land market, the directors of the company did try to provide incentives for settlement. In its Articles of Association, the Company allowed the directors to make special provisions to the first settlers on the Reserve. These were pioneers

15. The development and effects of this important trade network in the Mississippi basin is thoroughly discussed in Rohrbaugh, *The Trans-Appalachian Frontier*, 93-114.

who would have to build their homes and farms, improve the land, and make a living without the benefit of neighbors or experience. To better accommodate them, the directors identified the first townships to be settled and paid for the erection of sawmills and gristmills there. When the city of Cleveland was founded in July 1796 at the mouth of the Cuyahoga, settlement of the Western Reserve was officially opened.

However, settlement proceeded slowly, and the Company quickly decided that further steps were necessary to promote settlement. In 1797 and again in 1798, the Company moved to appropriate funds for the construction of roads and bridges to facilitate both internal transportation through the Reserve and roads into it from the East.[16] In 1801, the Company paid for the construction of a road from Buffalo through western New York and Pennsylvania to the Reserve, an indication that immigration was occurring too slowly for the Company's liking.[17] Roads were not the only investments that the Company made to promote settlement. In 1798, the purchasers voted to authorize the directors to give small parcels of land in Cleveland to blacksmiths and mechanics. The directors also occasionally gave free land to early settlers to pay them back for "risque and hardships encountered," and even to one James Kingsbury and family for having the first child born on the Reserve.[18]

Despite these attempts to improve the land, Samuel Huntington attested to Moses Cleaveland in several letters that settlement and economic conditions on the Reserve remained very poor. Huntington was a Yale graduate who migrated to Ohio in 1800 and participated extensively in Ohio politics. In a series of letters to Cleaveland, the general agent for the Connecticut Land Company, Huntington tried to rally support for Company-sponsored improvements to the Reserve. In 1801, he informed Cleaveland that the roads into the city of Cleveland were poorly maintained, needing occasional cutting and clearing because of storms.[19] Little seems to have been accomplished on that front, because even as late as 1819, a land agent named Seth Tracy complained that roads in the eastern part of the Reserve were so "extremely bad" that it was difficult to promote and sell land.[20]

16. Roads within the Reserve were desperately needed because instead of arranging for an orderly settlement pattern, the Company distributed its land to its members all at once. This was a vital error, because it resulted in settlements that were widely scattered over the land, instead of a slowly moving "frontier" of concentrated settlement.

17. WRHS Tract No. 96, 81.

18. More instances of the Company's incentives are detailed in WHRS Tract No. 96, 79-83.

19. WRHS, Tract No. 95, The Samuel Huntington Correspondence 1800-1812, 68.

20. Seth Tracy to Pierpont Edwards, 11 January 1819, Pierpont Edwards Papers, Yale University Manuscripts and Archives, New Haven.

Other travellers to the Reserve also mentioned the poor state of roads and the economic hardships of early Reserve residents.[21]

Huntington also claimed that the lack of a harbor in the city was a terrible burden on the settlers, because it was impossible for them to obtain cheap goods through the Great Lakes system without a suitable port. A sharp bend in the Cuyahoga River just before its junction with Lake Erie prevented commercial craft from entering the river. The bend also hindered the smooth flow of water out of the Reserve, and as a result, the river was a stagnant marsh near its mouth. Huntington wrote that because of the lack of a proper port, "our salt iron, potash & sugar kettles & such bulky articles cost us more to get from the falls, than all the rest of the distance." He encouraged the Company to invest a significant amount of money into the construction of a harbor at the mouth of the Cuyahoga, boasting that if Cleveland had a harbor, its people "might supply the Ohio Country ... cheaper than they can be supplied from Pitt."[22]

Access to specie was another serious problem that settlers everywhere in the American West faced, and Huntington confirmed that the Western Reserve settlers seemed to have a particular difficulty in obtaining cash. A variety of currencies circulated in Ohio: dollars, livres, pounds, notes of the assorted state banks, and U.S. Bank notes. In the late 1790s, furs, services, and whiskey were acceptable means of payment. Even in 1810, land, cattle, and notes of credit served as common transaction media in the Reserve.[23] Few settlers came to Ohio with a significant amount of money, and with a limited access to Eastern markets, their ability to obtain money was virtually nonexistent. Likewise, they were unable to obtain the goods and materials that they needed for a comfortable life. Huntington wrote that "[settlers] run to the merchants with what money they can pick up, to buy at an exorbitant price such articles as they had been used to consume in the old countries, without having any way of exporting such commodities as they might manufacture & send to raise money."[24] President Jefferson's Embargo Act of 1807 exacerbated the money problem by depressing the New England commercial class and stifling the little commerce and exchange that did exist between the East and the Western Reserve.

The actions of the Connecticut Land Company and the conditions on the Western Reserve should be compared to analogous proceedings on the

21. Among those who echoed Huntington's complaints about the poor drainage of the river, the sorry condition of Reserve roads, and the poor standard of living that existed on the Reserve were the Rev. Joseph Badger (in 1800), John Melish (in 1811), and Dr. Zerah Hawley (in 1820). See Hatcher, 76-88.

22., Huntington to Cleaveland, 15 November 1801, from WRHS Tract No. 95: Letters from the Samuel Huntington Correspondence 1800-1812, 68.

23. Rohrbaugh, *The Trans-Appalachian Frontier,* 104.

24. WRHS Tract No. 95, Huntington Correspondence 1800-1812, 74.

other major private holdings in this early American West. The Holland Land Company's Purchase, a 3.3 million acre tract in New York between the western edge of that state and the Genesee River, provides a convenient comparison. Although the western edge of the Holland Purchase was about fifty miles east of the Ohio state line, its size, features and early history were comparable to the Reserve. The lands were purchased in 1792 by a group of Dutch investors. However, in their organization and planning for land sales, the Dutch far outmanaged their Connecticut rivals.

The clearest difference between the policies of the two companies was in their respective preparations for sales. The Western Reserve was opened for settlement less than a year after its purchase, largely still unsurveyed and unimproved. The Holland Tract was set aside while developers planned the establishment of "frontier services" such as taverns, mills, schools, churches, artisan shops, and stores. They knew such services would be attractive to and needed by settlers. Before a single acre had been sold, the owners had planned and developed a network of villages and roads to accommodate an effective market system that was connected to Montreal and New York City. They had also rated the townships according to a "quality index" that was based on an analysis of the soil, vegetation, drainage, and terrain in each area. The indices helped them predict the pattern of settlement and guided their pricing and development policies. The land was finally opened in 1800, after eight years of such planning.[25]

Although the sales of land in upstate New York were slow in the early years, by 1803 land sales surged, and in 1810, more than fifteen thousand people inhabited the Holland Tract. The price of land rose from an average of slightly over two dollars per acre in 1804 to as high as $4.50 per acre in some areas in 1811.[26] The pricing policy of Joseph Ellicott, the resident land agent, was fluid and flexible. He was careful to coordinate his pricing with local settlement patterns and the quality of the land, instead of simply mandating a minimum price for all lands. The directors of the Connecticut Land Company did not have the foresight or the organization to manage their tract so effectively.

For a number of years, the directors also were unable to solve a problem concerning the questionable legal status of the Company's claims; this problem slowed settlement further. In addition to the original sale of the Western Reserve land area, the Connecticut Land Company had also purchased the rights to the "juridicial and territorial right" to the tract, which

25. These surveys, land assessments, and development plans are thoroughly discussed in chapters 2-4 of William Wyckoff's history of the Holland Land Company, *The Developer's Frontier* (New Haven, 1988).

26. Wyckoff includes a number of charts and maps; these data were extracted from information presented on pages 71 and 122.

meant that the state of Connecticut had forfeited to the Company its title to the land and its right to govern it. However, the validity of Connecticut's initial title to the Reserve lands was not at all certain because numerous squatters and rival Pennsylvania land-holders and speculators also claimed land on the Reserve. Nor was the method by which a new government should be established on the Reserve certain because, to the chagrin of Governor Arthur St. Clair, the area did not fall under the jurisdiction of the Northwest Ordinance. Settlers were unwilling to purchase and settle land when the Company could neither guarantee their titles nor provide a system of law to protect them.

In an attempt to solve this problem, the Company urged the government of Connecticut to accept authority over the Reserve. The state refused to do so, and in 1797 the Connecticut Assembly tried to release jurisdiction over the land to the United States government.[27] The following year, the Connecticut Land Company also appealed to Congress to accept jurisdiction, but both of these movements were spurned by Congress. Finally, in 1800, Congress appointed a committee under John Marshall to consider the cession of the Reserve into the jurisdiction of the federal government. Upon the committee's recommendations, Congress passed the "Quieting Act" in April, 1800. The law authorized the President to deliver letters patent to the governor of Connecticut " ... whereby all the right, title, interest, and estate to the soil of that tract [the Western Reserve] ... shall be released and conveyed ... to the said governor ... for the purpose of quieting the grantees and purchasers ... and confirming their titles to the soil of the said tract of land." In return, Connecticut was to "renounce forever, for the use and benefit of the United States, ... all territorial and jurisdictional claims [of the Western Reserve]."[28] The conditions for cession were quickly met, and on July 10, 1800, Ohio's Governor St. Clair announced the incorporation of the Western Reserve into the Ohio Territory as Trumbull County.

However, these years of title difficulties and sluggish sales had presented a series of immense problems to the Company members. In 1800, Marshall reported that the Company had paid only $100,000 of interest on the purchase money to the state of Connecticut, and that only about one thousand people lived on the Reserve.[29] In May of that year and again in October, the directors of the Company petitioned the Connecticut Legislature to re-

27. The preceding information about the Connecticut Land Company's difficulty with the jurisdictional problem and the accompanying problems of attracting settlers to this land can be found in the more detailed history of the same on pages 85-86 of WRHS Tract No. 96.

28. The "Accompanying Documents" section of WRHS Tract No. 96 includes a transcript of the Quieting Act (page 211).

29. WRHS Tract No. 96, 86.

lax the repayment terms of the Company's original purchase. The directors complained that, due to the title-issue embarrassment, the members of the Company had been forced to sell land at half its value, and were "obliged to advance their other property" in order to settle their debts with the state.[30] However, their attempts to earn a credit reprieve were insufficient to relieve the Connecticut Land Company's financial difficulties or to save it. On January 5, 1809, the Company was dissolved after less than fourteen years of existence. At that time, many of the original investors who owed money to the state for the purchase of the Reserve were unable to make payments on their debts. The managers of the Connecticut School Fund, to which the proceeds of the state's original sale of the Reserve were allocated, issued a report that showed that "a large amount of interest [on the debts owed by the members of the Company] was unpaid and that the collateral securities of the original debts were not safe."[31]

Just as Congress took years to formulate a reasonable land policy because its members did not understand the difficulties that settlers encountered on the frontier, the investors in the Connecticut Land Company never comprehended how difficult life on the Reserve was: there was no money, no supply of cheap goods, no provisions for public education, and no government — in short, no convincing reasons to settle. The members of the Company had hoped to profit from the westward migration by establishing a link between New England and the Northwest Territory, but during fourteen years of Company neglect and mismanagement, most investors had never laid a foot on the soil of their investment. Their ignorance of Reserve conditions contributed greatly to the downfall of the Company. Furthermore, the members of the Connecticut Land Company competed directly with each other for settlers, a situation which reduced their profits further, unlike the members of the Holland Company who coordinated their land sales within large agencies.

The dissolution of the Company forced the former members to independently take on the duties that the Company had assumed, including providing for publicity, incentives, and improvements. However, their lack of knowledge about their tracts often prevented them from effectively improving settlement. Pierpont Edwards was one of the major investors in the Connecticut Land Company. The youngest son of the Reverend Jonathan Edwards, he was a prominent lawyer, politician, and judge in New Haven and Bridgeport between his first election to the state legislature in 1777 and his death in 1826. He was a leader in the Democratic-Republican party and a major liberal voice in state politics. He was also

30. Ibid., 87.
31. Ibid., 91.

a promiscuous land speculator, entering into ventures in Vermont, South Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. He worked as an attorney for both the South Carolina Yazoo Land Company and the Connecticut Susquehanna Company. Edwards invested sixty thousand dollars in the Connecticut Land Company, thereby laying claim to 5 percent of the Company holdings on the Reserve.[32] A large piece of his land was located in present-day Trumbull County, near the eastern edge of Ohio; the agents that managed his land there worked out of the town of Mesopotamia, near the county seat of Warren.

Pierpont Edwards was living proof that speculators were not always fully aware of the proceedings of their land agents or of the conditions under which settlers lived on the Reserve. Although the Connecticut Land Company was a failure, Edwards did not learn from its mistakes and improve his own managerial techniques. Settlement upon his Reserve lands remained erratic and slow after 1810. Edwards' first agent in the Western Reserve was his son John S. Edwards, who died in 1813. The younger Edwards, although a prominent Ohio politician, was unsuccessful in selling his father's land, although his father seems to have been completely unaware of this fact. In a letter to the man who became his next agent, Seth Tracy, Pierpont Edwards confessed that he "was utterly ignorant as to what lands of mine in Mesopotamia have been sold by my departed son. I have had no account from him of a later state than sometime early in the year 1807."[33] The elder Edwards had not only been out of touch with his son and land agent for six years, but also apparently had never been in the Reserve. Furthermore, he did not even venture out there during Tracy's troubled tenure as his land agent, which lasted until 1819. Edwards had no idea how much money his son had made for him, what lands of his were registered at the land office, or how much land his son had sold. The correspondence to Edwards from Tracy during the years of Tracy's tenure reveals what may have been commonplace among speculators on the Reserve: a great deal of mismanagement and poor decision making on Edwards' part. Tracy's difficulties in dealing with the issues of money and sales stand out in the letters, and his problems in trying to communicate these distinctly frontier complications to his uncomprehending employer in New England are evident, too.

Tracy clearly discloses Edwards' frustrations with the slow pace of land sales in his letters. Although the real reason for the poor level of settlement was the economic difficulty of living on the Reserve, Tracy mentions

32. From listing of Connecticut Land Company investors in WRHS Tract No. 96, 131-34. Source for Edwards' biographical information: *Dictionary of American Biography*, VI, 43-44.

33. Edwards to Tracy, 9 September 1813, Edwards Papers.

other factors that contributed to the situation. In 1814, he reported that the ongoing War of 1812 had "much retarded emigration from the Eastward," and that fighting in the Great Lakes area had discouraged settlement of northern Ohio.[34] Tracy also reported that the war hampered his efforts at collecting money from the settlers, perhaps because Jefferson's embargo of 1807 and the subsequent War of 1812 interfered with commerce on the Great Lakes, too. In any event, money was even less available than it normally was.

The limited availability of money and the corresponding need for a generous credit policy created a number of problems for Pierpont Edwards. Foremost was the inability of settlers to pay their installments when they came due. Although Huntington had reported to Cleveland about the scarcity of currency back in 1801, Tracy refers to it frequently as late as 1818. Shortly after assuming his duties as Edwards' land agent, Tracy deduced that the settlers in the Trumbull county area had been negligent in making their payments, and that the sum coming to Edwards in overdue payments was "considerable."[35]

However, settlers typically did not even have much money with them when they arrived in the Reserve, and they needed most of what they had to establish themselves on their new lands. According to Tracy, many of the settlers who were unable to make their payments followed one of two paths: they either attempted to make a partial settlement by paying part of their debt or renegotiating their contract, or they simply left their land behind without paying or bothering to void the contract.[36] The latter group of settlers presented an especially difficult problem because, along with the instances in which settlers died with outstanding debts, each case had to be dealt with on an individual basis. The subsequent process of negotiating each case required extensive communication between the agent and the owner, which was difficult because of the great distance between them.

Other settlers arrived at a compromise that helped them finance their move to New Connecticut. Some used their Connecticut property as a partial payment for land in the Reserve. Tracy described this system in a letter in 1813: "land in the adjacent town is for sale two and three dollars per acre except in some cases where exchanges have been made for farms in the state of Connecticut which seems to be the mode that many of the land holders have adopted for several years past to settle their lands." Such a transaction benefited both buyer and seller. The settler who entered into such a deal was freed of the difficulty of obtaining cash for the

34. Tracy to Edwards, 16 September 1814, Edwards Papers.
35. Tracy to Edwards, 25 October 1813, Edwards Papers.
36. Tracy to Edwards, 7 May 1814, Edwards Papers.

land payment and able to use what available cash he had to establish himself on his purchase. Tracy thus encouraged Edwards to enter into these land-exchange agreements because they were attractive to settlers and therefore "advanced the price of lands." Furthermore, the speculators could oversee the condition and sale of Connecticut lands much more conveniently than their Reserve lands six hundred miles away. A Connecticut parcel would also have held a much more certain and stable position in the real estate market than the speculator's Ohio holdings. However, Tracy never indicates in subsequent letters that Edwards showed any interest in the bargain.[37]

In general, Edwards was very frustrated by the credit and payment system that prevailed in the Ohio country. Yet, for several years, he apparently did not outline a specific credit policy for his agent to follow. Tracy therefore usually took the initiative in establishing flexible terms of credit in order to encourage settlement. In 1817, he reported that he had drawn up a contract with two men who "were unable to pay any money down, but I thought it would be for your interest to settle them as they were from the Eastward and whose people will be likely to follow their friends." The price of the land was three dollars per acre, a very low price for 1817 compared to other deals Tracy was making, and he allowed the two men four years to pay their debt. Not happy with such terms, Edwards sharply scolded Tracy in 1818, insisting that in future contracts, he receive some significant down payment and that credit be limited to three or four years of annual payments.[38]

Edwards' poor knowledge of the conditions on his western lands was evidenced in his continuing insistence that the price of his land remain substantially above the market value of the surrounding lands. One of Tracy's first observations upon taking office was that Edwards' son — the first agent — had substantially overvalued his land. The Reserve was a buyer's market, and Edwards faced stiff competition from his neighbors for a limited number of interested settlers. On a number of occasions Tracy reported to him that the price he was demanding was well above the price for "wild lands" in the immediate vicinity. In 1815, Tracy complained that Edwards was asking for at least four dollars per acre on all lots, regardless of the land's quality — a situation that made it nearly impossible for him to sell

37. Tracy twice makes mention of this land-exchanging procedure: he describes the past use of it by settlers in a letter to Edwards dated 25 October 1813, then repeats his request for further instructions on the subject in the letter of 7 May 1814, but thereafter never raises the subject again.

38. This incident is related by Tracy in a letter to Edwards dated 5 May 1817. Edwards rebukes him and sets his own credit standards in a response to Tracy dated 5 June 1818. See Pierpont Edwards Papers.

land.[39] Five months later, he elaborated on the price of his neighbors' lands, stating that "no sales of land can be made to any great amount while lands contiguous to this place are offered for two dollars and fifty cents and three dollars per acre."[40] And again, two years later, Tracy, admonished for selling lots at three dollars per acre, informed Edwards that his "neighbors ... selling land around me hold their land at three and four dollars per acre, chiefly at three, and unless I sell at the market price, few or none will purchase."[41] By 1818, Edwards seems to have finally acquiesced to his agent's advice, giving permission to Tracy to sell for as low as four dollars per acre, which by then was near the market price (although he still pressed him to try to sell as high as five dollars). He also permitted sales on credit, provided that the installments and interest were paid promptly.[42]

Tracy had plenty of trouble in trying to collect any money at all, but sometimes settlers made payments in currency that was drawn on local banks. Obtaining currency that was acceptable to Eastern banks was another significant problem for the land agent. Often, Western banks could not back their currency with specie, therefore making such money unusable to Eastern business and financial centers. Many Western banks were poorly managed, and unauthorized banks, unsound currency, and counterfeiting abounded in the Ohio country. Even many of the Western banks, such as the Western Reserve Bank in Warren, would not accept the currency of their neighboring banks because they could not "hold out the least encouragement of its being paid for in specie."[43] Therefore, in 1817, Tracy explained to Edwards that he was having trouble collecting "such money as is current in your country which is very scarce here."[44] In February 1818, he further reported that "it is with much difficulty ... that current money on the Eastern banks can be procured while money is so scarce and land buyers so unable to pay their installments when they become due."[45]

39. Tracy to Edwards, 23 January 1815, Edwards Papers.

40. Tracy to Edwards, 17 June 1815, Edwards Papers.

41. Tracy to Edwards, 7 May 1817, Edwards Papers. Note that Edwards was not the only one who was trying to sell his land at a high price. For instance, Moses Cleaveland originally asked for 50 dollars per acre, reports Hatcher, but many prospective buyers "even balked at $25." Hatcher, 67.

42. Tracy to Edwards, 5 June 1818, Edwards Papers.

43. Simon Perkins to William Crawford, 8 January 1817, quoted in Carl Wittke, ed., *The History of the State of Ohio* (Columbus, 1942), vol. 2, *The Frontier State 1803-1825*, by William T. Utter, 279.

44. Tracy to Edwards, 26 December 1817, Edwards Papers.

45. Tracy to Edwards, 2 February 1818, Edwards Papers. Hatcher further discusses the chaotic banking situation in the Reserve, and Ohio's attempts to reform it in the 1840s, in Chapter 11.

Edwards also became increasingly impatient with Tracy's inability to transmit to him the money that he did collect and hold for him. In a letter to Tracy dated June 5, 1818, Edwards wrote that his agent owed him about one thousand dollars (although this figure was too high because he failed to subtract the tax payments that Tracy made for him). Edwards claimed that since he had hired Tracy, he had actually received only five hundred dollars from him, and this all came in a single remittance. The method by which Tracy planned to make remittances was to entrust the cash to a traveler returning to the East. Thus, in early 1818, Tracy had sent the five hundred dollars with a reputable man to his wife's father for him to deposit in Hartford, into an account subject to Edwards' order.[46] This route was obviously inefficient, confusing, and subject to the risks of finding a trustworthy courier, and then praying that he did not die or fall victim to robbery on the long road back to Connecticut. It also entailed the expense of paying the carrier, so it could only be done economically with large sums of money.

Edwards formulated another method which, although promising, ultimately proved unsuccessful because the status of currency in the West was so confused. In 1818, Edwards instructed Tracy to deposit his remittances in an account in the United States Branch Bank at Pittsburgh under Edwards' name. Tracy would then mail the deposit certificate to Edwards, who could then withdraw the money from the United States Bank at Middletown, Connecticut[47] (as could easily be done today). Unfortunately, Tracy claimed to have attempted this method, only to be spurned by the Pittsburgh bank, which would not accept the bills that he wanted to deposit: "none of the western bills except the old Pittsburgh Bank bills were received at the branch bank in that place," he wrote. Tracy further stated that he had also tried to buy a cashier's check from the same bank, but the bank would accept only "premium notes" of the branch banks for payment. This was impossible, he said, because those bills were simply not available in the Western Reserve.[48]

Another of Tracy's responsibilities was to pay the land taxes on Edwards' unsold holdings. He generally paid the taxes out of the money that he collected from the settlers' installments, and he seldom reported much difficulty with raising at least this much money out of the these payments. He did report, however, that the property tax rate rose quickly from year to year, increasing the burden on land agents, who had to collect more

46. Tracy to Edwards, 2 February 1818, Edwards Papers.

47. These instructions were detailed in a letter from Edwards to Tracy, 5 June 1818, Edwards Papers.

48. Tracy to Edwards, 8 October 1818, Edwards Papers.

money from the settlers every year just to pay the taxes. Consequently, the agents, in turn, put more pressure on the settlers to come up with the funds, and the owner, Edwards in this case, had to advance the money to the agent if his payment collections came up short. In 1814, Tracy reported that land was taxed at one dollar per acre (almost a third of the purchase price), which amounted to an increase of about 50 percent over the previous year. In those two years, Tracy collected one hundred forty dollars from settlers, which amounted to exactly six dollars more than the total tax payments for the same time period. Taxes continued to increase in the next two years, and for 1815, Tracy paid over one hundred forty-six dollars. In the six years from 1812 to 1817, he paid a total of over six hundred dollars in taxes on Edwards' land.[49]

Speculators and agents were not the only ones inconvenienced by the scarcity of money; it was a problem and a fear for settlers, too. Tracy pointed out the particular problems that settlers encountered daily concerning the circulation of money. Settlers suffered from the difficulty of obtaining Eastern currency, because unlike Western paper, Eastern bills were valid and redeemable at many banks because they were backed by specie. He commented on the "confusion the banking system has produced in this country. Our banks have issued no paper for a long time on account of the United States Banks and are collecting in their dues which has almost stopped the circulating medium." Unfortunately, very few legitimate bills existed in Ohio; many were drawn upon one or another particular local bank and not redeemable at any other banks, including the United States Bank. Tracy expressed the view of many Western settlers when he said that he hoped that "banks will be so regulated that money will be put in circulation in such a way as may be depended on in future."[50] Another problem that he reported to Pierpont Edwards was counterfeiting. With so many different kinds of currency in circulation, it is not surprising that some individuals took advantage of the situation to introduce bogus money and "spurious bills" into the system. Tracy recorded the case of a "bandilla of counterfeiting, unprincipled men from the older states of the union" perpetrating their "nefarious schemes," wreaking havoc with the state of paper money in the Reserve.[51]

Settlers were obviously frustrated by high prices, lack of currency, and unavailable goods. For instance, Tracy reported in 1815 that a number of old settlers in Mesopotamia occasionally ransacked some of Edwards' un-

49. The information about tax collection and local tax rates from 1812 to 1817 is taken from figures that Tracy submitted to Edwards in letters (from the Edwards Papers) dated 7 May 1814, 16 September 1814, 26 February 1816, and 8 October 1818.

50. Quotations drawn from Tracy to Edwards, 8 October 1818, Edwards Papers.

51. Tracy to Edwards, 24 November 1818, Edwards Papers.

sold lands for the timber and sugar trees there.[52] In that letter, he recounted an incident where a prospective buyer refused to buy a piece of land because two settlers had been drilling one-inch holes in some two hundred sugar trees, devaluing the land in the process. Such incidents revealed that in the absence of a police presence, private property in the Reserve was not always secure. Apparently, the settlers also badly damaged the trees because they could not even obtain proper augers in the Reserve. In a further testimony to the bleak isolation of the Reserve, Tracy wrote in 1818 that "the scarcity of money has roused the people to a more vigilant industry." The settlers were hardly rewarded for their vigor, however, because at the end of a "very productive season," a group of settlers were unable to sell their vast numbers of excess apples and, to avoid wasting them, had to make about a hundred barrels of cider.[53]

Speculators and agents tried to attract a particular set of settlers to their land, but they were often so desperate to sell their land that they did not have a choice about who came. Young families were desirable in the West because they could have children and increase the population. Hardworking, honest farmers would make the settlement more appealing to future buyers and raise the value and profitability of the land for the sellers. Skilled workers could provide services for settlers. Emigrants from New England might relay a positive report on the area to friends back home. Towns competed with each other to attract such settlers. On the other hand, if an area had a reputation for crime or settlers who lacked integrity, then settlement could be retarded. Tracy was careful to note to Edwards when skilled laborers or professionals, such as physicians, settled on the land. He also was sure to tell his employer that the settlers he had brought in were of high quality. He described some as "young and industrious," pointed out where and when families or groups of friends had moved in, and commented on the prospects of "more wealthy" people emigrating to Ohio.

Honest and wealthy people also carried with them the obvious advantage of being more likely and able to pay their debts when they came due. Tracy described many of the first settlers as "unruly," a group that only gradually gave way to the more "desirable" settlers over time. He often commented on their scandalous behavior. Many were prone to trespass on unsold lands; for instance, it was a crowd of "old settlers" who mutilated Edwards' sugar trees. These people may have been the most poor, or they

52. Tracy to Edwards, 17 June 1815, Edwards Papers. The perpetrators were arrested and tried before the Supreme Court in Warren in September, 1816, but Tracy neglects to disclose their fates in subsequent letters.

53. Tracy to Edwards, 8 October 1818, Edwards papers.

may have been the most hardened by the difficult conditions. In cases where purchasers were failing to pay punctually, Edwards was clearly partial to contractors who seemed "industrious and honest," and "in a fair way to do well;" he allowed such settlers more freedom in making their payments. "I do not wish you to be severe with the debtors, especially where they appear to be industrious and are making improvements," he told Tracy's successor, George Swift.[54] But he was also quite willing to void contracts when other settlers were unable to make their payments on time; he sometimes even instructed his agents to initiate law suits to eject such settlers from their land when they became too delinquent.

Despite Seth Tracy's recital of the difficulties he faced, Edwards was unimpressed by his efforts and results in selling land. He denounced him for failing to sell a single lot during the first two years of his tenure and accused him of withholding remittances from him. Moreover, he was displeased with the generous credit terms and low prices that Tracy gave to new settlers, frustrated by his poor performance in collecting payments when they came due, and accused him of creating fraudulent contracts, keeping poor records, and pretending to have sent him letters outlining his land sales progress in 1819 — letters which Tracy claimed were lost in the mail. Consequently, Edwards revoked Tracy's powers of attorney and fired him in 1819.

In June of that year, Edwards sent Robert Fairchild out to the Reserve to settle his accounts with Tracy and relieve him of his duties. "His accounts were in perfect chaos," reported Fairchild. After spending three days and three nights reorganizing Tracy's records, he found that Tracy owed Edwards over three thousand six hundred dollars; Tracy had thought that he owed less than one thousand.[55] Tracy paid a thousand dollars immediately, and was forced to mortgage his 300-acre estate to finance the remainder of his debt. But in 1822, a Steubenville attorney named Collier, acting for Edwards, took control of Tracy's land and auctioned it for about twenty-five hundred dollars.

Although Edwards rightfully did not trust him, Tracy's efforts to promote the settlement of the Reserve and to improve its habitability were significant. For instance, upon Tracy's initiative, Edwards paid for the erection of a new saw mill in the center of the town of Mesopotamia. To further the settlement of the area, Tracy signed contracts with young men and families under extremely generous terms, even though Edwards rebuked him for doing so. And by his own count in 1819, thirty-three families had settled in the town since 1816, yielding a population increase of

54. Edwards to George Swift, 14 September 1819, Edwards Papers.
55. Robert Fairchild to Edwards, 29 June 1819, Edwards papers.

200 percent.[56] Furthermore, Pierpont Edwards' lack of knowledge about his land persisted in spite of Tracy's repeated attempts to convince him to visit him in Ohio, a meeting which he claimed would have been "of great consequence to your business in this place as there is [sic] many things which are difficult to explain by letter communications."[57]

After firing Tracy, Edwards hired George Swift of New Haven to manage his land. Swift served until Edwards died in 1826. After the Tracy debacle, Edwards demanded a great deal from Swift, and through him he made a greater effort to assess the state of his settlers and his land. In his first instructions to Swift in 1819, he directed him to "go to Mesopotamia town, and for each person who owes me, learn all you can of each man's situation, his character as respects sobriety and industry and the management of his farming and what improvements he is making. Note down at the time all you learn concerning each man and furnish me with a copy of all you think it will be useful for me to know."[58] Swift, following orders, kept a careful account of all his business proceedings and accounts and relayed them regularly to Edwards. Like Tracy, he mentioned that "the difficulty of collecting debts and procuring money that has for some time past existed in this state still exists in a considerable [condition]."[59] However, in 1823, Swift reported that agents and settlers had begun to utilize a new plan that helped settlers finance their purchase. "I have had frequent applications from persons to purchase," Swift wrote. "They wish to have permission to go on to the land, some for a year and some for two years, and agree that at the expiration of that time they will ... pay one quarter of the price and the remainder in three equal annual payments or quit the land."[60] Settlers used the interim between settlement and payment to establish their house and farm and grow a year or two of crops to pay for their land. He went on to report that Edwards' neighbor and friend, Simon Perkins, had sold a considerable amount on land in this manner. Preemption did not become a legal right on surveyed public lands until 1841, although settlers had argued for it at least since the 1820s.[61]

56. Tracy to Edwards, 11 January 1819, Edwards Papers. The population growth may have had very little to do with Tracy's efforts, because migration to the Reserve as a whole accelerated after the end of the War of 1812 and the cold New England summer of 1816. See Hatcher, 70-74.

57. Tracy to Edwards, 15 May 1815, Edwards Papers.

58. Edwards to Swift, 14 September 1819, Edwards Papers.

59. Swift to Edwards, 30 December 1821, Edwards Papers.

60. Swift to Edwards, 2 January 1823, Edwards Papers.

61. The struggle for the right of preemption on all surveyed lands was long and sometimes violent. Troops were occasionally called out to evict people who settled on public land before it was auctioned, and settlers organized claim associations to intimidate prospective speculators. See P.W. Gates, "Land Policy, 1780-1896," in *The Reader's Encyclopedia of the American West,* 638-39.

Although Edwards was typical of many Easterners who invested in land in the West, other speculators seem to have displayed more concern for their affairs in Ohio. Shortly after inheriting his father's New Connecticut lands, Henry Leavitt Ellsworth trekked out to the Reserve in 1811 to investigate his agent's suspect behavior. Ellsworth recorded his observations in a journal. His comments reveal him to be more astute than Edwards and more interested in his investment. He noted the terrain of the tract, and even favorably compared its drainage and soil to that of the nearby Holland Purchase. He also observed that many areas of the Reserve lacked roads, and travelers often had to rely on marked trees and a compass to find their way.[62]

Ellsworth's comments concerning the inhabitants of the Reserve show how much he learned about life on the Reserve. He noted the haphazard pattern of settlement — many of the towns "were quite settled, though there are yet many townships without a single inhabitant." The destitution of many of the settlers particularly impressed him. On several occasions, he sat for a meal or slept a night in a settler's "small and scantily contrived" shack. Once, he complained bitterly that he had never seen "so much dirt and filth in any human habitation" as in the hut where he was spending the night. Filthy and nearly inedible food, cramped living conditions, and flea-infested straw beds were constants among the various log huts that Ellsworth stayed in during his month-long stay in the Western Reserve.

Pierpont Edwards' difficulties epitomized a critical aspect of the settlement of the American West: the fact that the world he lived in was greatly different from the one that his business was conducted in. Edwards was an established Connecticut lawyer and politician who could not comprehend the intricacies involved in typical problems of settlement. He did not understand the hardships of obtaining legitimate currency, the difficulty of clearing and improving land without money, and the scarcity of commodities that drove people to steal goods such as timber and sugar from someone else's land. Every day, the Westem settler faced an unstable, uncertain future — a situation which Edwards had no conception of.

But the position of the speculator was in flux too. Historians have often judged the speculator for his actions and how they affected trends in Western settlement and development, as if his activities and objectives were a constant in the equation of Western settlement. In the first half of

62. Henry Leavitt Ellsworth, *A Tour to New Connecticut in 1811*, ed. Phillip R. Shriver (Cleveland, 1985), 64. This journal contains much more than a description of the Western Reserve; the journal is an insightful commentary on the people, the land, and the journey through the Reserve and western New York and Pennsylvania. The information here and the following excerpts are taken from pages 56-74 of his journal, the major part that deals with Ellsworth's inspection of the Reserve.

the twentieth century, land historians Benjamin H. Hibbard and Paul W. Gates led an attack on the land speculator. Gates criticized speculators for driving up the price of land and withholding the best lands from market, claiming that their policies forced settlement to proceed sporadically and caused high rates of farm tenancy among settlers (instead of outright ownership). However, since the 1940s, revisionist historians have promoted a different view, one more favorable to the speculator. Roy M. Robbins emphasized that speculators "furnished capital necessary for building up the new country. They actually contributed heavily to settlement by building up towns." Ray Allen Billington recognized the role of the land speculator as the middleman between the settlers and the government. And Bruno Fritzsche argued that "the land speculator rather than the stereotyped pioneer may well be regarded as the symbol of what is commonly called 'Manifest Destiny.'"[63] However, these historians tended to neglect the speculator's ideals and his ideas and assumed that he was in control of his situation, when, as Pierpont Edwards proved, he often was not. Like settlers, speculators shaped and were shaped by the conditions in the West. Edwards' obstinacy retarded settlement on his land, but at the same time, he was angry and frustrated that his investment was not yielding a return; his later policies reflected that tension. Far from engrossing the best lands, Edwards simply overvalued his land, and in so doing, he hampered his profit-making capacity.

In 1896, Frederick Jackson Turner wrote "The Problem of the West," an article that discussed the development of the American West in terms of old institutions being applied to new environments, and the initial divisions between the "old world" and the "new frontier" that resulted. Gradually, as more links were established between the two regions, they became more alike. Ultimately, he wrote, the new society "assimilates itself to the type of the older social conditions of the East; but it bears within it enduring and distinguishing survivals of its frontier experience."[64] Turner applied the process to American history, to the relationship between the established East and the frontier West, calling the development of the West through this relationship the "rebirth of American society" and the "constructive force" of democracy. Although Turner was incorrect in many of his ideas about the American frontier, the problems experienced by Pierpont Edwards, his settlers, the Connecticut Land Company, and the

63. The arguments of Gates, Hibbard, Robbins, Billington, Fritzsche, and many other land historians are summarized and discussed in Robert P. Swierenga, "Land Speculation and Its Impact on American Economic Growth and Welfare: A Historiographical Review," *The Western Historical Quarterly,* 8 (July 1977), 283-302.

64. Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Problem of the West," *The Atlantic Monthly,* September 1896.

United States Government lend credence to one of Turner's general concepts: that the West was a separate and distinct entity from the East. Despite all cultural, political, and economic links, this separation was the cause of many problems both in the administration and the settlement of the West. The land agent was both a symbol and an embodiment of this East-West linkage, but, as the correspondence between Tracy and Edwards shows, the agent and the owner he attempted to communicate with did not always speak the same language.

Turner wrote that the men who crossed the Alleghenies had "a keen sense of the difference between them and the dwellers on the coast."[65] Seth Tracy certainly had this sense, and he tried to relate it to Edwards. Almost without exception, he referred to Ohio in his letters as "this place" or "this country," implying a distinction between Ohio and New England. He took pains to remind Edwards of the problems of obtaining money and the difficulty of life in the West. If Pierpont Edwards was abstractly aware of these difficulties, he had no idea how deeply they penetrated frontier life, nor how to modify his policies to compensate for them. Henry Ellsworth crossed the barrier and witnessed firsthand how different life was on the Western Reserve. The settlers were trying to advance themselves economically in the West, and in so doing, they did develop an attitude unique to the frontier. But they seemed too worried about achieving the barest form of daily survival and scraping together a sufficient living to pay off the nagging local land agent to worry about idealism, manifest destiny, "hope in democracy," or faith in the common man. These were cliches and slogans reserved for politicians and historians.

Western settlers were not so much recreating a world or relearning Turner's "lessons of frontier democracy." Rather, in their struggle to improve their conditions, settlers were constantly trying to shape and develop their relationship with the East. Like Seth Tracy, they had to repeatedly remind Easterners that the West was quite different from the East. Westerners supported and followed the leaders and politicians who spoke to their needs. They rallied around men like Andrew Jackson and Henry Clay. They stood in favor of internal improvements, Indian removal, and a freer monetary system, and they supported any measures that would help bolster the Western economy and strengthen their links with the East.

The American West did not develop in isolation. In fact, the many links between East and West were a given for settlers and speculators alike. However, the process of "taming the wilderness" was not a convenient, linear one, as Turner suggested. It was a sporadic and confusing process

65. Ibid.

that involved a great deal of hardship and suffering. The Western Reserve and its settlers stagnated for thirty years, victims of economic isolation and poor management. In 1815, Seth Tracy and Pierpont Edwards both must have wondered if their leaps of faith would ever be justified.

Notes and Queries

The Thirty-Sixth Annual Missouri Valley History Conference will be held in Omaha, Nebraska, March 11-13, 1993. For further information, contact Dale Gaeddert, MVHC Coordinator, Department of History, University of Nebraska at Omaha, Nebraska 68182-0213.

The North American Society for Sport History will hold its Twenty-first Annual Convention at Albuquerque, New Mexico, on May 28-June 1, 1993. Those interested in presenting a paper or organizing a session should contact or submit abstracts for review by November 15, 1992, to: Prof. Joan Paul, Department of Human Performance and Sport Studies, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, TN 37996-2700. Abstracts should be from 250-500 words, have a stated purpose, briefly describe methods of collecting data and findings, and be primary rather than secondary research.

The University of Kentucky invites submissions and nominations for the second Martin Luther King, Jr., Prize for Research in African-American History. The $500 award is given biennially to an article published in the preceding two years. Scholarly articles published in the calendar years 1991 and 1992 are eligible to compete for the award to be announced in February 1993. Elsa Barkley Brown, Assistant Professor of History and Society at SUNY/Binghamton, won the first award in 1991 for her Spring 1989 *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* article, "Womanist Consciousness: Maggie Lena Walker and the Independent Order of Saint Luke." Send submissions or nominations to Martin Luther King, Jr., Prize Committee, Department of History, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky 40506-0027, by December 31, 1992.

The William Dean Howells Memorial Committee recently announced that Jerry S. Herron of Wayne State University was awarded the Howells Summer Fellowship for 1992. The funds that support the fellowship were given with the purpose of encouraging study of and publications on the life and work of William Dean Howells. The award consisted of two weeks' rent-free lodging at the Howells Memorial at Kittery Point, Maine, and provided the recipient with access to Howells' private library as well as the Howells collections in the Houghton Library at Harvard University.

T. H. Watkins, vice-president of the Wilderness Society and editor of its magazine, *Wilderness*, recently won the 1992 John M. Collier Forest History Journalism Award. The award, sponsored by the Forest History Society, went to Watkin's June 1991 *American Heritage* article which traced the early forestry activities of conservation leader Gifford Pinchot. The Forest History Society is a nonprofit education institution. Founded in 1946, it advances historical understanding of mankind's interaction with the forest environment through programs in research, publication, service, library, and archival collecting. For further information about both the John M. Collier Forest History Journalism Award and the Forest History Society, write to the Forest History Society, Inc., 701 Vickers Avenue, Durham, North Carolina 27701.

Oregon State University Press is proud to announce the publication of its Northwest Reprints edition of *Botanical Exploration of the Trans-Mississippi West,* by Susan Delano McKelvey. This classic history of the botanical explorations of the West from 1790 to 1850 was first published in 1955 by the Arnold Arboretum of Harvard University and has been out of print for several years. It is now back in print with a foreword and annotated bibliographic supplement by Joseph Ewan of the Missouri Botanical Garden and an introduction by Stephen Dow Beckham of Lewis and Clark College. *Botanical Exploration of the Trans-Mississippi West* is a major reference work for botanists, historians, cultural resource specialists, museum workers, interpreters, and others with an interest in exploration, history, and botany. For further information about this reprint edition, contact the Oregon State University Press at Waldo Hall 101, Corvallis, Oregon 97331-6407.

Don Heinrich Tolzmann, curator of the University of Cincinnati's German-American Collection, recently edited a new volume for Heritage Books entitled, *The First Germans in America.* Dr. Tolzmann's research indicates that the first Germans landed at Jamestown in 1608, thereby arriving in America seventy-five years earlier than previously proven.

The ILR Press of Cornell University has published a reprint edition of Ruth McKenney's 1939 classic *Industrial Valley,* with a new introduction by Daniel Nelson. McKenney's book is the third book to be published in the *Literature of American Labor* series. This series, edited by Cletus E. Daniel and Ileen A. DeVault, is an effort to bring back into print some of the best literature that has emerged from the labor movement in the United States and Canada which will include "the full range of popular writing ... novels, biographies, autobiographies, and journalism." To date, ILR Press has reissued K. B. Gilden's *Between The Hills and The Sea* and Theresa Serber Malkiel's *The Diary of A Shirtwaist Striker.* For further information about McKenney's book and the series in general, contact: ILR Press, School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York 14853-3901.

Wright State University Press recently announced the publication of *Weathering The Peace: The Ohio National Guard in the Interwar Years, 1919-1940,* by Robert L. Daugherty. This book is a narrative history which describes how the Ohio National Guard survived and even prospered as part of the American military establishment during a period characterized by anti-military sentiments. From 1919 to 1940, while the United States' Regular Army was so starved for funds that it barely remained a serious fighting force, the Ohio National Guard, and other states' Guard organizations, was relatively well funded; the Ohio National Guard was deemed worthy of public support because it, unlike the Regular Army, was staffed by citizen soldiers and thus was never perceived as a threat to the state. This book provides a comprehensive picture of the National Guard during these years and is valuable to anyone interested in United States military history. For price and ordering information contact Carl Becker at the Wright State University Press, Wright State University, Dayton, Ohio 45435.

The Directory of Historical Organizations in Ohio: A Guide to the Historical Societies, Historical Museums, Historic Sites, Historic Preservation Organizations, Genealogical Societies, Historical Libraries, and Statewide/Regional

Historical Associations is available through the Local History Office of the Ohio Historical Society, 1982 Velma Avenue, Columbus, Ohio 43211-2497. Published by the Ohio Association of Historical Societies and Museums (OAHSM) and the Ohio Historical Society (OHS), the 136-page directory lists 800 historical organizations in Ohio's communities. In addition to the names and addresses of the organizations, most of the entries include: a telephone number; the name of an officer; number of members and staff; information on facilities, publications, and programs; and a paragraph describing the organization's focus. Many of the listings mention the institutions' holdings. The directory sells for $10.00 to members of the Ohio Academy of History, OAHSM, and OHS; for $12.50 to nonmembers.

Published by the Ohio Historical Society since 1887, *Ohio History* hopes to serve as a clearinghouse for information about Ohio historians, departments of history, professional meetings, research activities, historical societies, museums, and libraries. Such an undertaking depends, however, upon the cooperation of the many individuals and institutions we endeavor to serve. If you or your organization are interested in placing an announcement in "Notes and Queries," please write to: *Ohio History,* Ohio Historical Society, 1982 Velma Avenue, Columbus, Ohio 43211-2497. Production deadlines dictate that all dated materials (contests, meetings, requests for papers) be in our office five months prior to publication.

Book Reviews

The Fourth Estate and the Constitution: Freedom of the Press in America. By Lucas A. Powe, Jr. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991. xii + 357p.; notes, index. $29.95.)

In 1735, John Peter Zenger, who as a result of his legal misfortune was to become America's most famous printer, was anxiously awaiting the outcome of his criminal trial before a colonial court in New York. Zenger was charged with seditious libel for publishing a journal containing articles critical of the governor. Following a trial wherein his counsel's chief strategy was to plead the novel and theretofore unrecognized defense of "truth," Zenger was eventually acquitted by a jury, and, in the estimation of many legal scholars and historians, the principle of "freedom of press" took on new meaning in Anglo-American legal culture.

Lucas A. Powe, Jr.'s, superb new book on the First Amendment opens with reference to the *Zenger* case which he acknowledges to be "synonymous with freedom of press." Yet, unlike others of its type, Powe's exposition immediately challenges this notion of the resoluteness of press freedom as he introduces his reader to a case decided nearly a century later with which to compare and examine the extent to which such press freedoms had in fact been secured. In recounting the 1905 conviction of *Denver Times* publisher Tom Patterson for contempt of court stemming from his editorial criticism of the Colorado Supreme Court, he reminds his readers, First Amendment novices and sophisticates alike, that constitutional guarantees, even those as seemingly inviolate as freedom of the press, do not just spring into existence, nor are they impervious to efforts to redefine and qualify their scope and application. He admonishes the uninitiated that "law is not self-enforcing," and that "no matter how much society attempts to sanitize the judicial process, human beings are the instruments of law enforcement." This simple tenet helps to illuminate the reasons for the seeming inconsistencies and unpredictability of the evolution of the law of press freedom.

Powe frames his central thesis around the issues of the limits of dissent and the laws of decision-making about those limits, issues which go to the "heart of a democratic society." While he raises some of the traditional questions such as what, at a minimum, must freedom of the press protect, he also asks the intriguing question of whether society can compel the press to perform its appropriate role. The latter question implies that in exchange for a virtually unrestricted privilege to print what it pleases, the press owes society the obligation of informing the people on matters of public interest and importance. It is not clear, after reading his book, exactly what Powe feels is the appropriate role of the press; perhaps that uncertainty is merely a reflection of the ambivalence society feels toward the press in general.

Powe effectively weaves an interesting vignette about the Tom Patterson case. Patterson, the owner/editor of the *Denver Times,* wrote an editorial about the Colorado Supreme Court whom he charged with theft of the Denver elections. Following such accusations, the Colorado Attorney General issued an order for Patterson to show cause why he should not be held in contempt of court. Despite the procedural oddity, the gravity of the government's coercive intentions toward dissenters is not lost. In this twentieth century example of the government's use

of the contempt mechanism to stifle criticism, Powe effectively demonstrates that political and legal maneuvering can effectively jeopardize press freedoms notwithstanding the clarity of the First Amendment's language nor the indisputable importance attached to this instrument of democracy by the drafters of the Bill of Rights.

Powe renders a solid accounting of the history of the exercise of press freedom in the United States. In asserting that from the earliest days of our nation there could be no doubt but that freedom of the press was to be an essential right of citizens, he gives a contextual view of how people during revolutionary times viewed and understood the press as well as the behavior of printers who could be expected to know that law since they were the ones "who would be expected to bear its brunt." While acknowledging that there was no explicit rejection in American or British common law of press freedom, he maintains that a printer had a right to publish but was fully accountable subsequently for what was published. Although he entertains the possibility, as suggested by persons such as noted First Amendment scholar Leonard Levy, that the First Amendment "was intended to do little more than protect the press against prior restraints... ," he ably demonstrates the limited vision of such an interpretation by citing the surprisingly low risk assumed by a critical press. His assertion that criminal liability for seditious libel was basically only a theoretical restraint is convincingly supported by his reference to a mere nine attempts to use seditious libel to quash dissent during the entire colonial period, only one of which was successful, and that case occurred prior to the *Zenger* jury's decision.

Powe's discussion of the historical precedent of efforts by colonial legislatures to stifle dissent through punishing for contempt is particularly illuminating. Again, he demonstrates how the efficacious use of legal maneuvering in the area of contempt might have been successfully employed to chill free speech. As one contemplates the import of the change in the standard of proof as well as the availability of procedural safeguards in going from a purely criminal action to a hybrid quasi-criminal/civil one, this strategy of prosecuting alleged breaches of legislative privilege takes on greater meaning, especially in light of the fact that there were "twice as many" cases of contempt in the legislature than seditious libel cases.

Powe retells the "story behind the story" of *New York Times v. Sullivan*, the tax evasion trial of Martin Luther King, Jr. His treatment of the *Times* case was outstanding. Even those who have read and reread the cases and factual accounts leading up to the decision will be intrigued by the way Powe tells the story. His description of the likely consequences of Police Commissioner Sullivan and the other Alabama officials' success in the U.S. Supreme Court in this case is arresting as he likens it to "authorizing the South to secede intellectually from the Union."

Powe offers his reader a clear recitation of the evolution of constitutional law after *New York Times v. Sullivan*. Especially noteworthy is his review of the literature discussing the demographics of libel litigants and libel litigation. This area adds an important dimension to the study of the media, particularly the press, and law as it returns us to his theme of the influence of the "human factors." This section of the book reminds us that the study of the law of libel necessarily involves the study of human beings and institutions, not merely abstract legal principles. His crisp discussion raises several interesting questions about the influence of media coverage of libel trials on eventual case outcomes (e.g., increased jury awards).

On the whole, Lucas A. Powe, Jr.'s, exceptional book is first-rate. It is readable enough to be an excellent introduction to the field, but sufficiently comprehensive to inform and intrigue the more sophisticated scholar. More importantly, Powe has avoided the common tendency to discuss this important area of the law as if it developed in a vacuum, guided merely by legal abstraction, tempered by institutional imperatives, and disengaged from humanizing experiences. Through his exemplary effort, Powe's book truly enriches the literature in the field.

Kenyon College Ric S. Sheffield

Lee Considered: General Robert E. Lee and Civil War History. By Alan T. Nolan. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1991. xii + 231p.; illustration, notes, appendixes, bibliography, index. $22.50.)

With *Lee Considered* Alan T. Nolan flicks a long-overdue spitball at the Marble Man. The saintly image of Marse Robert has become so deeply embedded within the hagiography of the Lost Cause that its desecration might seem almost an act of impiety, but Nolan plays the devil's advocate with scarcely disguised relish. He challenges, point by point, each element in the familiar litany of Robert E. Lee's virtues.

Was Lee, as he later claimed, a closet foe of slavery? Nolan demonstrates that Lee, like most others of his time and place, owned slaves, supported slavery as the best possible system for both races and regarded blacks as racially inferior. More than that, when the Army of Northern Virginia invaded Pennsylvania it rounded up free northern blacks for shipment into southern bondage, while Lee turned a blind eye.

Was Lee, as legend has it, a reluctant secessionist? The evidence is mixed, but through a careful analysis of chronology, Nolan concludes that Lee had already decided to "carry a musket" for Virginia even while holding a commission in the U.S. Army. This seems to demonstrate, as Nolan delicately puts it, "that Lee had an unusually high tolerance for ambiguous loyalty."

Was Lee so chivalrous that he could not speak of his foes in any term harsher than "those people"? This widely-purveyed tidbit is laid to rest by Nolan's specific citations in which Lee refers to "yankees" as "the enemy" and attributes all sorts of "unchristian and atrocious" behavior to those "vandals."

More important, was Lee a great general? Nolan seems to suggest that good generals may win battles but great ones win wars. In particular, he faults Lee's obsession with the strategic offensive which, given the tactical superiority of entrenched riflemen, bled the Confederacy of military manpower it could not replace. The proper course, Nolan concludes, would have been for Lee to have held the defensive until Northern war weariness demanded a negotiated peace. Instead, Lee recklessly squandered his limited resources at Antietam and Gettysburg, rendering Confederate defeat inevitable. Lee himself understood this and, in Nolan's view, bears the moral responsibility for the deaths suffered in a hopeless cause for no other purpose than to satisfy an empty "honor."

Nolan even casts doubt upon such hallowed stories as Lee rescuing a baby bird under fire. He does not, however, go into Lee's family life to consider the emotionally stultifying impact Lee had on the lives of his adoring daughters. Nonetheless, the indictment seems thorough. Is it fair?

Probably not, but fairness is not really the issue. The Lee myth prospered because it justified the Southern cause. A sanctified Lee cast a halo over the entire Confederacy, allowing its apologists to finesse such unpleasant realities as treason and human slavery. If such a paragon as Lee could be devoted to the rebellion, the argument implicitly runs, then such a rebellion could not have been unworthy of him. The decanonization of Lee, as begun by this brief, provocative book, may be an essential step in the demythologization of the Lost Cause.

Cleveland State University Allan Peskin

Farm Wife: A Self-Portrait, 1886-1896. Edited by Virginia E. McCormick. (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1990. ix + 243p.; illustrations, notes, glossary, index. $22.95.)

Margaret Dow Gebby faithfully kept a daily diary for nearly a dozen years during the late nineteenth century. Writing at her farmhouse near Bellefontaine in northwestern Ohio, she recorded an incredible amount of detail about social, economic, and political affairs. Her entries tell us a great deal about rural life in Ohio and the Midwest. Indeed, her journal provides the essential and often hard to find information that historians must use to explain rural life during the late nineteenth century. Born in Logan County, Ohio, in 1835, her family moved to Bellefontaine during the early 1850s. She married at thirty-three years of age, bore two sons, and remained close to her family, which lived nearby. At the age of fifty, she began her diary. By that time her experience and maturity enabled her to understand the historical importance of the daily affairs in the lives of families, neighbors, and communities.

Virginia E. McCormick, recently retired from the Cooperative Extension Service at Ohio State University, knows Margaret Dow Gebby very well. And, she has skillfully annotated Gebby's diaries to enable the reader to understand the ebb and flow of the seasons on the farm, the rewards and difficulties of rural life and the daily business of living in the Midwest during a time of great change in American society. McCormick has painstakingly arranged Gebby's entries in topical form to stress theme, unity and order. When diaries are read in the original or printed with strict adherence to the original chronological order, days, dates, and events easily get strung out and their significance lost. McCormick, however, has organized Gebby's entires by four major subjects—Farm, Home, Leisure and Culture and Community. Within these major areas, she has arranged Gebby's entries within subtopics, such as weather, hired help, parenting, holidays, school, religion, government and transportation and communication, to list only a few. The entries are excellent for learning about the prices of agricultural commodities, land values, labor rates, relationships with neighbors and celebrations.

Historians who are working on Midwestern rural, agricultural or social life will find this book an excellent source for the details and grist of life needed to craft generalizations and to form interpretations about their subject during the late nineteenth century. McCormick's annotations, which she handles in the form of chapter and sub-chapter introductions, provide the background that both scholars and general students of American history can use with reliability. Historians, particularly, will find this book to be an excellent reference.

Iowa State University R. Douglas Hurt

Sixty Million Acres: American Veterans and the Public Lands before the Civil War. By James W. Oberly. (Kent: The Kent State University Press, 1990. xii + 222p.; tables, illustrations, notes, appendixes, bibliography, index. $28.00.)

Benjamin Hibbard's classic *History of Public Land Policies* (1924) set the tone for a generation of historians who condemned the military land grants of the 1850s as a corrupting influence for the frontier and detrimental to the public domain. Recent research into governmental land records has either reenforced this contention or opened consideration to historical reexamination. The latest revisionist study is James Oberly's *Sixty Million Acres* that analyzes both the technical aspects of land legislation as well as political and economic distinctions regarding "speculative-capitalist" monopolies prior to the Civil War.

Oberly focuses on land policies and distribution of military bounties or warrants to veterans after the Mexican War. To bolster recruitment for that conflict, volunteers were promised 160 acres of land, setting in motion an abandonment of traditional land distribution based on sales as revenue for the government and inaugurating a stampede of give-away legislation during 1847-1855 with backdated benefits to veterans of earlier wars. By 1855, Congress passed four major veterans pensions distribution acts in which sixty million acres of public domain were granted to a half million veterans or their widows and heirs. Oberly analyzes these distributions against three major schools of historical interpretation: 1) the Turner view of the frontier and West in shaping American democracy; 2) the Paul Gates view of corruption with a rural hierarchical monopoly; and 3) the revisionists such as Allan Bogue who view the issue in a larger economic-marketing context.

In tracing the extension of veteran benefits, Oberly lists various wars, "Indian disturbances," and minor military engagements since 1812 for which those veterans began claiming eligibility for land benefits similar to Mexican War service personnel. His analysis is masterful in its treatment of lobbying activities by these veterans who inundated Congress with petitions. Added into the political and economic equations was the notion of the public domain open to all as a matter of general principle.

Passage of these congressional acts brought speculators and brokers into the scene. Oberly has an excellent description of their methods to encourage veterans to apply for benefits, including 1) direct mail circulars, 2) newspaper advertisements, and 3) sub-contracting through agents at the local level. Hibbard and Gates regarded these activities as the focal point for corruption and monopoly, but Oberly has assembled substantial statistical data to show a somewhat different picture. He contends the market mechanism for veterans transferring (i.e. selling) their warrants to brokers was essentially a competitive one. Most of these veterans or their widows and heirs had no interest in actually going west to settle on government land. Transferring their vested interest was a method of converting claims into often badly needed cash, especially for older veterans.

Oberly demonstrates that the competitive market for these converted warrants was sometimes quite favorable for veterans. Speculative brokers re-sold these instruments to younger land seekers who used them to purchase at discount government land and avoided paying cash prices at land offices. Oberly concurs with Stanley Lebergott's "hinge of fate" economic thesis that secondary marketing of such warrants enabled many to settle in the west. Ordinary settlers were the ultimate beneficiaries—not speculative monopolists. This combination of cheap warrants and attractive grain prices strengthened the North's strategic economic expansion into the plains prior to the Civil War.

Oberly has written a major reinterpretation of military bounties in terms of land distribution. It requires us to think anew about a long-nagging, controversial aspect of the frontier vis-a-vis competitive marketing and secondary brokering activities for land settlement. Interpretation of pre-Civil War land legislation has been significantly changed in an illuminating way as a result of this finely crafted and well-written study.

Texas A & M University David E. Schob

Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., American: An Autobiography. By Benjamin O. Davis, Jr. Foreword by L. Douglas Wilder. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991. x + 442p.; illustrations, index. $19.95.)

During his long career in the Air Force, Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., saw tremendous changes in the functions that blacks were allowed to perform. His generally interesting autobiography recounts his role in this process and describes the many challenges he faced in war and peace. In addition, he also expresses his continued anger at the discrimination that permeates much of American life.

Benjamin Davis grew up in a military family. His father was one of the few black officers in the Army and he provided a role model for his son. Living with his parents in Tuskegee, Alabama, and Cleveland, Ohio, Davis noted the limitations that the Army placed on his father's career. Despite this Davis decided to enter the military profession through West Point, where he felt that he would be treated as just another student. He quickly found that this was not to be the case and he had to endure four years of "silence." Determined to show that he could not be stopped, he did well in his studies and graduated 35th in his class, a proud moment for him and his family. After graduation he hoped to enter the Army Air Corps, but they refused to allow him into this branch because there were no black flying units. Not until 1940 did political pressure force the Army to change this policy.

One of the most interesting aspects of the autobiography is Davis' account of the World War II period and the segregated flying units that he commanded. Though he despised what discrimination did to the lives of blacks, he kept his opinions to himself and worked within the system to create the best possible organizations. Davis believes that the high level of performance achieved by the 99th Pursuit Squadron and the 332nd Fighter Group paved the way for the postwar integration of the Air Force. Truman's 1948 desegregation order surprised Davis, as did the rapid changes that followed for the Air Force itself and for his own career.

After integration began, Davis' challenges arose from the assignments that he was given. During the next two decades he served in a variety of command positions, mainly overseas. After his retirement from the Air Force in 1968, Davis held a number of jobs, including serving as Cleveland's Director of Public Safety and as Assistant Secretary of Transportation. He has also assisted on a variety of boards and commissions, including the American Battle Monuments Commission, a position his father also held.

Benjamin Davis' autobiography is an often absorbing account of significant events by an officer who was uniquely positioned to observe the collapse of segregation in the Air Force. The most compelling sections of the book involve descriptions of incidents in which Davis was a central actor. When he depicts his

own reactions to discrimination and its impact on people, white and black, the reader is able to get some inkling of how difficult it was to be a black person in a society in which the white majority did not seem to understand how their actions hurt blacks. Less interesting are Davis' accounts of his many assignments in the 1950s and 1960s, including many paragraphs of prose in which he notes the people he worked with and social functions he attended. The work also contains no conclusion, as apparently Davis decided not to make any analysis of his impact on the American military.

Benjamin Davis' autobiography is a frequently fascinating account of a man who rose in the military in spite of the handicaps imposed by a racist society. It reminds us how much has changed in American life during the past half century and how much still needs to change.

Ohio University Marvin Fletcher

From New Day to New Deal: American Farm Policy from Hoover to Roosevelt, 1928-1933. By David E. Hamilton. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1991. xii + 334p.; notes, bibliographical essay, index. $39.95.)

This is a well-researched, well-written study of Hoover Farm policy. Two things give it more current interest than one might find in some 60 year-old issues. First, development of "farm" or governmental policy during the last decade has increasingly challenged the farm programs that culminated in the Roosevelt New Deal. These programs varied in detail, but they were all characterized by ways in which government subsidized farmers, and then exercised control over specific crop production and operations. Second, there has been much writing revising and reinterpreting attitudes towards the Hoover administration and its relationship to the New Deal. The excellent introduction and the last chapter deal with these issues most ably. They may appeal to readers who are not interested in as much detail on farm policy as the rest of the book contains. Your reviewer was comforted that, along with valuable new explanations, the book's assessment of the policies and reason for and extent of failure were consistent with those in the text he used to teach surveys of American history 40 years ago.

The major portion of the book makes the reader aware of the place farm policy played in the nation in the 1920s. It was of primary concern to national leaders in political, economic and social areas. It held an importance we have not assigned to agricultural issues for the last half-century. Most readers will be surprised and impressed by the number, variety and scope to the programs developed by agricultural economists, by political leaders both in and out of Congress, and by farm organizations as well as by the policies of Hoover and his administration. Hoover's programs and ideas for governmental leadership in the nations economy—ideas he had developed and used as Secretary of Commerce—are explained. Also explained is the suspicion and mistrust of Hoover by farm leaders in spite of the fact he had been much associated with farm production during World War I. His successful stint as Secretary of Commerce during which non-agricultural activities under his aegis prospered much more than did agriculture, and his rejection and veto of the McNary-Haugen bill early in his administration, developed a widespread public, especially agricultural public, perception that he was not a friend of the farmer.

Actually Hoover had substantial plans for farm policy and was ready to, and did, devote substantial governmental resources to them, both through his Federal Farm Board and through other programs. Hamilton describes the programs as "associative" and voluntary in nature and to be operated primarily through private organization as through farm cooperatives. But by the standards of the time they were well funded, and were expected to make a great impact on crop prices, farm prosperity and on farm production. In size and scope the Hoover programs overshadowed those of earlier administrations. In actuality they contained many of the elements most prominent in the New Deal Agricultural programs of the 1930s.

How those programs might have worked in relatively prosperous times is not known. The author expresses doubts about their soundness. But in the debacle of the 1929 crash and ensuing depression they could do nothing but fail, and the Administration did not prove to be energetic or flexible enough to salvage them, or the farmers. The Hoover program then became lost in the more far-reaching and extensive New Deal programs of the AAA and other agencies.

Hamilton's book is well researched and well written. It is a good study of programs and issues that were of great importance to the nation 60 years ago, issues that we still struggle with today.

University of Cincinnati W. D. Aeschbacher

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COMPILED BY LAURA RUSSELL

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